

# California Historical Quarterly

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*Fall 1972*



OLD VILLAGE, YOSEMITE VALLEY, 1915

COVER: Parking was no problem in Yosemite in the winter of 1915. Motor cars had been grudgingly admitted to the park only two years before and their operation was proscribed by an onerous set of regulations, reproduced verbatim beginning on page 207. The two automobiles, parked in the snow at the Old Village, were modest forerunners of the horde of vehicles that would eventually overwhelm the park. (Photograph courtesy of the National Park Service Reference Library, Yosemite.)

# California Historical Quarterly

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The *California Historical Quarterly* is published four times a year by the California Historical Society in Spring, Summer, Fall, and Winter. Membership begins at \$15.00 per year and includes subscription to the *Quarterly* and *Notes*. Second-Class postage paid at Pasadena, California. Contents copyrighted, 1972, by the California Historical Society. Editorial offices at 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, California 94109; office of publication at 1120 Old Mill Road, San Marino, California 91108.



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*Founded June 6, 1871  
Reorganized March 27, 1922*

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*John W. Caughey*

*Professor Caughey has had a long and distinguished career as scholar, teacher, and editor in the field of California and Western history.*

## The Californian and His Environment

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THE ANTIQUITY OF MAN in California is some 20,000 years, give or take a few millenia. Skeletal remains found near Wilshire Boulevard in Los Angeles test out at 9,000 years old, and a find of dinosaur bones with carvings made when the bones were "green" pushes the horizon back to 15,500 years. On a broader base of anthropological evidence a few thousand more years are added. Over that span California has been a proving ground where successive populations tested their mode of living.

The Indians, first on the scene, monopolized 99 percent of this time span. Then, beginning in 1769, came a half century when California was a Spanish outpost colony, a quarter century when it was Mexican, another 25 years or so when gold mining dominated, followed by a railroad age of about twice that duration, an interval of prosperity, depression, and the Second World War, and the postwar or modern epoch. These seven divisions are a bit arbitrary, but they provide that many sets of inhabitants which can be graded on their respective adjustments to and wear and tear on the environment.

The Indians were on the most intimate terms with Nature. They built up a comprehensive familiarity with what the region offered that was edible or medicinal, what could be shaped into tools and weapons, containers or garments. These prehistoric Californians fished and hunted but primarily gathered. Because they put little emphasis on agriculture, war, government, or organized religion, they made a poor impression on the Spanish and American pioneers. Anthropologists, to the contrary, astutely praise the intricate process that made acorn meal edible, the exquisite and practical baskets, the sewed-plank boats of the Santa Barbara Channel, the sophistication in philosophy and literature, and the remarkable fact that these Indians were so numerous.

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NOTE: By special arrangement with the Institute of American History at Stanford University, the California Historical Society is privileged to publish a series of papers prepared by nine distinguished historians and read before a conference celebrating California's bicentennial, held at Stanford in 1970. Some of the essays will be published first in the *Quarterly* and all will be issued by the Society next spring in a book entitled *New Perspectives on California History*. The series is introduced in this issue with the two articles: the following essay and Walton Bean's review of the history of radicalism in California politics, beginning on page 213.

The Indians left a few marks on the land. At Emeryville and elsewhere on San Francisco Bay their kitchen middens built up into shellmounds. Arrowheads are still found. More in evidence are the mortar holes in boulders and exposed slabs where the acorn grinding took place. These and the cave paintings of the Chumash and some of their neighbors, if not vandalized, will last for centuries, as reminders of these creative first Californians. To their everlasting credit they lived in harmony with the environment, did not exterminate a single species, and passed the land on to their successors unsullied and undamaged.

Spain's representatives came to this province in small numbers and with limited objectives. After six lean years, the Anza reinforcement of slightly over 200 persons doubled the foreign population. Another six years later a contingent of 44 men, women and children was recruited and conducted to California to found the pueblo of Los Angeles. Eventually 20 missions, four presidios, and two of three attempted civilial pueblos were strung out along El Camino Real from San Diego to San Rafael. After 50 years Spain's holders of the outpost colony, the so called *gente de razón*, had passed 2,000 in number and the mission Indians work force was another 20,000.

The Spaniards introduced wheat, maize, beans, squashes, lentils, fruit trees, and the vine—unfortunately the inferior mission grape. They brought horses and cattle. Pure nature lovers may deplore these intrusions, though migration of species occurs in nature as well as in company with man. The Spaniards erected ramadas and huts and, after a time, adobe houses, presidial walls, plastered and tiled mission buildings which seemed as appropriate to this land as to Spain and northern Mexico. As in those areas, the Spaniards began tillage with irrigation, which was an improvement on nature.

Another 25 years later, at the close of the Mexican period, the *gente de razón* were perhaps three times as numerous, but the Indian work force was considerably reduced. The two pueblos had grown and clusters of population existed at San Diego, Santa Barbara, Monterey, Yerba Buena, Sonoma, and Sutter's Fort. The former mission lands and additional lands in the coastal belt and along the lower Sacramento had been parcelled out as ranchos. The marks on the land still were minimal, with no scarred hillsides and no appreciable erosion.

Two species had been virtually eliminated, the sea otter and the beaver, but their destruction was by American, Russian, and Aleut poachers in the Spanish period and by Rocky Mountain fur trappers entering without consent in the Mexican period.

Spanish-Mexican contact had also resulted in the decimation of the Indians in the southwestern third of present-day California, a tragedy not intended by Spanish or Mexican policy which on the contrary relied on the Indians as a permanent element in the population.

An inheritance appraiser checking the estate left by the late Hispanic

owners might have noted the reduced Indian work force, which of course is not to say that they were part of the property. He would have subtracted for the exhaustion of the otter and beaver supply.

On the plus side he would have listed improvements in houses and corals, dams and *zanjas*, orchards and vineyards, fields made tillable, oxen broken to the yoke, horses gentled, and thousands of head of cattle and horses on the open range. The American zeal to break Mexican land titles and take over the improvements indicates endorsement of such an appraisal.

That inventory of resources stands somewhat aside from the bionomics. The ecology in 1848 was approximately as sound as it had been in 1768, and that means as sound as it had been in 18,000 or 20,000 B.C. when the first Indian arrived on the scene.

In the course of the next couple of decades a massive invasion of "blue-eyed strangers" and others ran the population, other than Indians, up to half a million. In those same years the number of Indians was halved and halved again by disease, interference with their accustomed food supply, and outright killings. The thousands upon thousands of men who engaged in the early placer mining made a relatively small disturbance of the terrain along the Mother Lode. A few evidences are still visible, among them clusters of hummocks, three or four feet high, where drywashers piled up rocks and dirt. The lode or hard rock miners left sharper reminders of their presence. The hydraulic miners left their yawning craters and the gold dredgers their windrows of boulders as eyesore and useless until a century later when some of them went into the fill for Oroville Dam.

More devastatingly, the technologically advanced gold washers, relatively few in number, set in motion a mammoth flow of debris that buried good farmland, fouled the waters and ended the salmon runs, raised river beds, and multiplied flood damage all the way to the mouth of the Sacramento.

Because of the mining there were upsurges in lumbering, hauling, and farming. The lumbermen cut ruthlessly into every convenient stand of timber. Much of the work was wastefully done, as in chopping a great fallen trunk into sections that could be handled at the saw mills. The attitude toward standing timber was exactly the one that had prevailed in the American advance from the Piedmont to the Ohio Valley to Minnesota. There was a callousness about felling ancient oaks to fuel the stamps in the diggings and about sawing up thousand-year-old redwoods.

Bay and river boats and coastal shipping ornamented rather than marred the landscape, but horses, wagons, and stages beat paths, stirred dust in the dry season, and rutted badly in the wet season. Beef and wheat led the agricultural growth, followed by expanded plantings of vines and fruit trees.

Disaster struck the southern California ranches in the early sixties. It was invited by overstocking and overgrazing, but the real trouble was a vagary in rainfall, to which the region is exposed. In this instance two very dry win-

ters were followed by torrential rains and flooding. The environment was more at fault than the ranchers.

In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth lumbering was pushed more vigorously to the point of exhausting commercial stands in the southern California mountains, the Santa Cruz area, and the immediate vicinity of the mines. Cutting advanced into the Sierra and redwood empire forests. Atrocities were committed such as cutting a wagon-wide passageway through the base of a giant sequoia or sectioning off the bark so that it could be reassembled as a sideshow exhibit. The logging threat to the Giant Sequoias stimulated conservationists to reach for state and federal intervention to preserve some at least of these unique specimens. Mines and smelters, cement plants, sand and gravel pits, oil refineries and tank farms, slaughterhouses, tanneries, and city dumps became blemishes on the landscape, measurably localized damages to the ecology. The owners of the smelter at Selby, to cite one instance, had to buy up the pasture land across Carquinez Strait to silence the complaints that fumes from the smelter were ruining those grasslands.

The railroad, which was the dominant feature of the period, was less offensive, especially after oil burning displaced wood and coal. Its steel rails lay innocently on the roadbed, and native vegetation persisted along the right of way when virtually eliminated elsewhere. In many a scene the passing train was a pleasing accent, its whistle a welcome sound, and its pulsating machinery a delight. Furthermore, transportation by rail, which was dominant until the 1920's, channeled travelers across the deserts and through the Sierra without giving them much chance to harm these delicate balances of land and biota. The bulk of Californians both resident and visitor kept to the inhabited coastal and valley lowlands, sparing the Sierra, the Coast Ranges, and the deserts.

In the 1870's and the next four decades, agriculture made great strides with vast increases in the plantings of vines and fruit trees, sugar beets, and, late in the period, other row crops. Grain farming extended to some marginal lands that might better have been left in pasturage, and hay, especially alfalfa, became a major crop. California became the number one honey state and moved up in milk and egg production. On the whole this agricultural growth was ecologically sound, enlarged the capacity for photosynthesis, and enhanced the beauty of the countryside.

In this period reclamation projects made important additions to the agricultural potential. George Chaffey bored into mountain streambeds to find water for Upland, Ontario, and Etiwanda, and diverted water from the Colorado for gravity flow into Imperial Valley. Making the desert bloom and produce seemed an altogether desirable alternative to allowing Colorado River water waste into the Gulf of California. Leaving aside issues of munici-



pal morality and private profit grabbing, Owens Valley water yielded more valuable crops when allotted to agriculture in San Fernando Valley.

In a much less visible project in the lower Sacramento Valley, federal aid, engineering, and management combined with private-enterprise agriculture exorcised the worst flood hazards along the lower Sacramento and multiplied agricultural output and profits through what was also an ecological improvement.

In the 1920's and 30's several changes occurred that should have alarmed friends of the environment and to some extent did. Population doubled, as it had been doing every twenty years, but this time the increment was 3.5 million more residents, consumers, water users, and recreationers to accommodate. In the boom of the twenties subdividers put prime agricultural land out of production, sometimes most blatantly as when they hacked down orange groves to make room for residential lots.

The great water projects of this epoch had respectability. Boulder Dam ended flood hazard for Imperial Valley, produced hydroelectric power which no one criticized, and made water available to Los Angeles and environs. Although Coloradans and others upstream grouched that it was their water the Angeleños were syphoning off, the national economy would be enhanced and at no discernible cost to the continental or global ecology. The Central Valley project raised acrimonious debate on the 160-acre limitation. Its dividends in flood reduction for the Sacramento Valley and restoring the water table in the San Joaquin Valley would boost the income of the state by correcting Nature. This project was claimed to be the sort of readjustment "that God would have made had he known the facts in the case."

In these years the oil companies struck bonanzas in the Los Angeles, Wilmington, Signal Hill, and Kettleman Hills fields. Giant tank farms were built but could not have kept up with the flood of oil except that the Panama Canal was fortuitously available for tankers in shuttle service to east coast refineries.

Except for a few seepages such as those at La Brea and off Coal Oil Point, California's petroleum lay dormant far below the surface. It mattered no more to the ecology whether it remained there or was extracted than it had mattered whether the gold deposits were drawn out or left in deposit. In their discovery drillings and their extractions the oil companies defaced the landscape with ungainly machinery and malodorous open tanks. Spillage there or at the refineries or in shipment was a menace. These damages, however, were localized. The general feeling was one of gratitude for oil burning ships and locomotives. The oil industry was not charged with appreciable disruption of the ecology.

A companion burgeoning industry, movie making, came under heavy criticism as a deplorable influence on morals. The developer of a famous sub-

division adjacent to Hollywood activated this disapproval with restrictive covenants excluding two categories, one of which was the moving picture people. The studio lots were more bizarre than beautiful, but of them tourists were enamored and Californians tolerant. Ecologically speaking, movie making was one of the cleanest of industries.

Other industries on the upgrade at the time, among them garment making, furniture making, food packaging, and airplane assembling, were not noisome. Two others, the real estate business and the tourist industry, bore down more heavily on the land.

Suddenly in the 1920's Californians committed themselves to the automobile. Roads had to be paved and extended in all directions. We needed gas and filling stations, tire factories, automobile assembling plants, and installment purchasing as a means of acquiring these cars. These improvements came, but hot on their heels a sudden proliferation of littering, with picnickers and campers at every road side and road's end and discarded tires and cars distressingly slow in disintegrating once taken out of service.

We motorists of the twenties put the choke on streetcars and electric interurbans, though they limped along for another few years. We set an immediate strain on Yosemite and other preservations of wilderness. Undoubtedly we also contributed to pollution of the air and overtaxed the natural agents in photosynthesis, though neither the scientists nor Calvin Coolidge told us about it at the time. The major concern then was about the prodigal burning up of the world's limited supply of petroleum, a concern easy to put out of mind in the delicious new experience of being able to drive oneself almost anywhere one wanted to go and anytime.

The automobile carried people into the far corners of the state, almost inviolate in the railroad era. It made it easier and cheaper to migrate to California and thereby contributed to the dramatic rise in population. Even earlier there had been Californians who wished to protect the state against further population growth, a premonition of Lee DuBridge's plug for Zero Population Growth and Art Seidenbaum's more subversive solicitation for Lesser Los Angeles. The earliest expression that I can personally document is my grandmother's conviction in 1910 that Pasadena was getting too crowded and that "there should be a law" against any more people moving to California. She and my grandfather had come the year before.

In the immigration control act of 1924 Congress set a slight brake on population increase in California. In the thirties the red squad of the Los Angeles Police made a misguided and unconstitutional effort to turn back selected entrants at the state border. Others deprecated the coming of the Oakies. A few Californians (such as Lindley Bynum) genuinely lamented that they had not lived in the good old days of the 1830's, but the Chambers of Commerce, the All-Year Club, and every right thinking Californian saw a

direct correlation between population increase, prosperity, and progress, a conviction which the Great Depression only accentuated. The more the merrier would be the theme song of the Great Prosperity of the next thirty years. California history as written and taught registers this interpretation.

In the course of the onrushing forties, fifties, and sixties, 7 million Californians became 20 million; the state that already led in agricultural production pushed farther in front; the Gross State Product in goods and services hit \$100 billion; the state budget under Governor Edmund G. Brown reached \$4 billion and under Governor Ronald Reagan advanced to a recommended \$6.35 billion; the state that was far in the lead with dozens of crops became number one in space and defense industries and in contracts from the Pentagon and NASA. Gas tax money had built the finest set of freeways in the world. California was investing more in higher education than any other state except New York. An Ivy League inventor of a yardstick for quality of living reported that California scored highest, and there were other ways of saying that this was the new Terrestrial Paradise.

In book titles, however, there were cries of dismay and anger by Richard Lillard of *Eden in Jeopardy*, by Raymond Dasmann on *The Destruction of California* and by William Bronson on *How To Kill a Golden State*, while Samuel E. Wood said *California, Going, Going*, and left us waiting in ellipsis for the word [*Gone*]. A quarterly jeremiad used as masthead *Cry California*.

The sardines disappeared, whole fields of kelp disappeared, the brown pelicans lost capacity to lay hatchable eggs. Smog, which dawned on Los Angeles in 1943, enveloped Pasadena, the San Fernando and Pomona Valleys, San Diego, San Jose, and even San Francisco. The lumber companies accelerated logging the redwoods, though Governor Reagan offered the consolation that "when you have seen one redwood, you have seen them all." The 5-acre desert homestead and the dunebuggy threatened ruination of desert plant life, archeological sites, and centuries-old Indian trails. Public campgrounds through the state had turnaway crowds and reservation lists as much as a year in advance. Yosemite Valley became a traffic jam and a slum, and the Park Service found it necessary to airlift two government-gray outhouses to the summit of Mt. Whitney. Public beach frontage fell to one quarter inch per Californian.

Freeway sprawl has retired wide belts of agricultural land through every valley in the state. Residential sprawl, industrial sprawl, airport sprawl, and miscellaneous sprawl has forced agriculture to flee to second class and third class land. Wastes and sewage and other solid fill have reduced San Francisco Bay to a fraction of its original dimensions. If not stayed, this desecration will narrow it to an open sewer. Installing concrete sides and bottom, the Army Engineers made the Los Angeles River look like an open sewer. What saves it from being one is that it runs only when it rains. Lack of stream flow may

be the miracle that has kept all of California's streams out of the first ten in pollution, among them the Houston Ship Canal, the Cuyahoga, the Ohio, the Rouge, the Passaic, and the Merrimack.

But the Los Angeles Harbor authorities have saved their pilings from being eaten away by letting the water become so polluted as to be lifeless; Santa Monica Bay seagulls make daily pilgrimage to the cut-and-fill garbage disposal in the Santa Monica Mountains now being renamed the Santa Garbage Mountains; and San Francisco is dickering with the Western Pacific for a daily garbage train to interested and willing Lassen County near the Nevada border. Affluence, nonreturnable bottles, plastic disposables that are indestructible, fail-sure toys and gadgets, and a use-and-discard philosophy and economy threaten to leave us and our high standard of living perched on top of a record-high pile of trash and garbage.

That our headlong advance in population, prosperity, purchasing power and consumption, and in methods and mechanisms might give us a backlash has long been registering on our senses of sight, smell, hearing, and touch. Prior knowledge has been available that some of the procedures we were using required compensatory programs. For instance, Iowa farmers knew as early as 1910 that many fields had to be tiled, that is, fitted with subsoil drainage, if they were to be kept productive. The subsoil wastes from the Welton irrigation district in Arizona so salted the Colorado just above the border that the United States had to release additional good water to keep the quality up to treaty standards. We were, therefore, somewhat prepared for the Sierra Club's recent diatribe against the California Water Project because it lacks a reliable mechanism for disposing of the heavily charged waste waters that it will generate.

But suddenly in the last few years has come a crescendo of warnings about individual liberties we have been taking with the environment and about the sum total of these liberties. Why, we ask, were we not warned earlier that DDT had a potential for building up in herbacious animals and in the ocean and in mothers' milk? Why were we not advised earlier that, when pollution is spread to the uppermost atmosphere as in the contrails of high flying jets or rockets, it is dissipated only very slowly? Why were we not told that this upper level float of pollution may shut off the Earth's receptivity of solar heat? Why were we not told that the inordinate amount of combustion in which we engage is raising the temperature enough to threaten the delicate global balance? Why were we not told that the surplus amount of carbon dioxide thus produced and the concurrent diminishment of vegetation may slow down photosynthesis to the point that overheating will occur that will melt the polar icecaps and subject the Earth to mammoth flooding that would cover most of urban California? Why were we not told that, what with the heat that must be disposed of and the radioactive wastes for which there is no safe place for deposit, nuclear power is not clean after all? Why were we not

told that our tampering with the ecology is so nearly out of hand that there may be no repair? No doubt some voices were raised, but the Doomsday dimensions of the consequences of the Scientific Revolution and the Population Explosion were not communicated.

On the basis of evidence such as we are accustomed to handling, we as historians can see that twentieth century man, increasingly in the last three decades, has been making improvident use of the Earth's stockpiled resources and putting a highly dangerous strain on the environment. We can identify the horsemen of this apocalypse as the explosions in population, science, and technology and an extravagance of consumption which threatens wholesale disruption of the ecology and of the Earth's capacity to sustain life. Californians are hyperactive in making these overdrafts. The horsemen, en route to Doomsday, do great damage to the California that we prize.

Remedies proposed begin with a bandaid and aspirin division which is not to be despised. Included are such actions as the Sierra Club scavengers, back-packing cans and other litter out of the High Sierra; Ladybird's highway beautification drive; President Nixon's proposals of \$400 million a year for ten years from the federal treasury for ladling pollution out of our rivers; and the campaign to forbid off-pavement use of the dunebuggy and its two-wheeled sidekick.

Ecologists and cosmic scientists ridicule such mild measures as catering merely to the superficial symptoms but buying no time in which to prevent total disaster. They prescribe much more drastic and heroic measures:

- 1) to trim down not only the population increase but the population,
- 2) to cut back consumption by behaving more like the residents of the Underdeveloped Countries,
- 3) to cure pollution at its sources by stopping the production of pollution,
- 4) recognizing that much of the worst pollution and ravaging is by Man and the Machine, to slack off on mechanization,
- 5) to housebreak science. Obviously we need better calculation of side-effects and after-effects before new drugs, detergents, insecticides, and food additives go on the market. Ecologists were horrified at Edward Teller's call for nuclear explosions to open a sea-level Panama Canal and to make deserts habitable and productive.

This total prescription would involve reversing present programs and adopting a new value system. The track record of the Californians—that is, their history—has little in it to suggest that they will readily set aside present comforts and satisfactions for future benefits to them and to posterity, particularly if those benefits are nebulous. Californians, like other Americans, have accepted drastic reforms only after being hit by major disaster or breakdown.

California history, except for the most recent chapters, has been strongly encouraging to optimism. The environment showed itself highly resilient



and competent to support every one of the successive life styles from Indian to Spanish, to Mexican pastoral, to the days of 'forty-nine, to the railroad age, and the prewar urban and agricultural emphasis, up to but not including the present. The automobile was a portent, but only since the Second World War has overtaking of the resources risen to crisis. The tipping point was that recent; the breaking point, we are told, is just ahead.

California's greatest poet, Robinson Jeffers, made himself unpopular by harsh criticism of man's impact on the planet and by his conclusion that man did not deserve to survive and would not survive. California historians never came close to such an interpretation.

California history, on the contrary, as written and studied, has been the saga of growth and progress usually quantitatively measured. It has shown man taming the frontier, struggling against a land often refractory, maximizing population, and achieving a cultured, sophisticated urban life. So far as the ecology was concerned, man has appeared as the ringmaster, putting the subhuman participants through their paces and substituting at his pleasure. It must come to many Californians as revolutionary thinking that man himself is in the ecological chain or ring and is not at liberty to break that connection.

The oncoming generation, as we have always assumed, will require history rewritten to be relevant to its needs. The need right now is for a pioneering effort, rescuing from threat of oblivion the achievements of men such as Theodore Payne in the propagation of California's native shrubs and flowers and John McLaren with his hand-made Golden Gate Park. The more difficult task will be to pioneer with a new value system compatible with continued functioning of the ecology and, for the world as a whole, aborting the apocalypse which some say will be with us even before 1984.

*Paul C. Johnson*

*Author, Sierra Album, Pictorial  
History of California, This Beautiful  
World: Yosemite; editor of California  
Historical Quarterly.*

## Turn of The Wheel: The Motor Car vs. Yosemite

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“**S**HALL AUTOMOBILES be allowed to enter Yosemite?” queried the American Alpine Club of John Muir in 1912. He replied resignedly: “Doubtless under certain precautionary restrictions, these useful, progressive, blunt-nosed mechanical beetles will hereafter be allowed to puff their way into the park and mingle their gas-breath with the breath of the pines and waterfalls—and, from the mountaineers’ standpoint, with but little harm or good.”<sup>1</sup>

At that time, automobiles had not been permitted to enter Yosemite since the turn of the century. Three or four had been driven into the park over the rutted stage roads in 1900 and 1901, but the noisy contraptions frightened horses, then the principal means of motive power within the park, and the admittance of motor cars was officially banned in 1901.

Muir’s dour prediction came true only a few months after he had written to the Alpinists. A combination of the rapid improvement of the rural road system and the proliferation of privately owned motor vehicles finally forced the authorities to admit automobiles in 1913. The roads in Yosemite still belonged to the horse, however, and the motor car was tolerated under a bristling list of 65 do’s and don’ts, reproduced verbatim on the following pages.<sup>2</sup>

As this amusing specimen of governmentese reveals, autos were not particularly welcome. Among other admonishments, drivers were told how fast they could drive (10 miles an hour maximum), how long they could tarry to load and unload (5 minutes), and how to behave when meeting mounted parties on cliff-side roads (park on the “dangerous side”).

Present-day drivers may find these 1914 restrictions laughable—but the last rueful laugh may well be enjoyed by the National Park Service. After six decades of unbridled access to Yosemite, automobiles are now overrunning the park. Today, an average of 10,000 a day crowd into the valley on holiday week ends, overtaking the road system and generating a pall of smog. In reprisal, the Park Service has initiated a gradual though modified return to the 1901 ban. The Yosemite Master Plan of 1971 calls unequivocally for “the complete removal of the automobile from the valley.”<sup>3</sup>

At least, in 1914 it was possible to drive within the park, even if the chauffeur had to honk at every turn.

REGULATIONS GOVERNING THE ADMISSION OF  
AUTOMOBILES INTO THE YOSEMITE NATIONAL PARK,  
SEASON OF 1914.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,  
*Washington, D. C., June 3, 1914.*

Pursuant to authority conferred by the act of October 1, 1890 (26 Stat., 650), setting aside certain lands in the State of California as a public park, the following regulations governing the admission of automobiles into the Yosemite National Park are hereby established and made public:

1. Motor cycles are not permitted to enter the park.

2. Automobiles traveling within the metes and bounds of the Yosemite National Park will be required to secure a permit from the acting superintendent or his representative.

3. Applications for permit must show: (a) Name of owner, (b) license number of automobile, (c) name of driver, (d) number of passengers, and (e) be accompanied by a fee of \$5 for a single round trip in and out of the park, payable as hereinafter indicated.

4. Tickets of passage must be obtained at Merced Grove of Big Trees, inbound.

5. Tickets of passage must be presented to the acting superintendent or his representative at the auto camp checking station, inbound. Upon departure from the camp site they will be returned to the chauffeur.

6. Every person presenting an automobile for admission to the park will be required to satisfy the guard issuing the ticket of passage that the brakes of his automobile are in first-class working order, and for this purpose all automobiles will be required effectually to block and skid the rear

wheels with either foot or hand brake, or such other brakes as may be a part of the equipment of the automobile.

7. The fee for each automobile permit shall be \$5, payable upon arrival at paying station.

8. Payment of fees must be made by cash or money order; checks will not be accepted.

9. In case an automobile is compelled to leave the park before arriving at Yosemite, the fee will be collected at the nearest checking point en route outward.

10. No automobile shall take station in free automobile park without a permit properly signed by the acting superintendent or his representative.

11. All tickets of passage and permits shall be surrendered at the Merced Grove Station upon departure.

12. Automobiles outward bound which have not a permit properly signed by the acting superintendent or his representative will be charged \$5, failure to possess permit being accepted as evidence that the fee has not been paid. This charge of \$5 will be made at the first station at which the automobile appears. A receipt will be given for the amount paid, which will be surrendered at the Merced Grove Station, and will be accepted in lieu of the permit.

13. At the conclusion of each day, the guard at Merced Grove and paying station will report by phone the various machines by license number and name of owner or person responsible therefor which have cleared their station. Similar information of automobiles which have arrived and failed



*Advance scout: The first "automobilist" to drive into Yosemite National Park, Oliver Lippincott, poses regally in his Locomobile on the tip of Glacier Point in June, 1900. The venturesome motorist later philosophised that "whatever the new type of conveyance, it cannot detract from the sublimity of the great valley or lessen the majesty of the eternal hills." Such lofty sentiments did not impress the federal authorities, who soon placed an official ban on motor cars that lasted until 1913. (Courtesy of the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History and the Flying Spur Press Collections.)*



to clear shall be made, stating reason for nonclearance.

14. Until further orders, automobiles will be permitted to enter and leave the Yosemite National Park only by way of the Coulterville and Big Oak Flat roads. Automobiles approaching the park by the Big Oak Flat Road will change direction to the west at Crane Flat and take the Coulterville Road.

15. Automobiles will enter the Yosemite Valley only by way of the Coulterville Road. They may, at their option, leave the Coulterville Road at Big Meadows (Meyers) and enter via El Portal and the Merced River gorge.

16. Automobiles leaving the park shall confine themselves to the roads authorized for entrance.

17. Automobiles are not permitted to use any roads in the park other than those specified, and those will be used for ingress and egress.

18. Automobiles entering or leaving via El Portal will check at that place.

19. Automobiles entering may leave the Merced Grove of Big Trees between the hours of 7 a. m. and 5 p. m. Automobiles arriving later than 5 p. m. at the Merced Grove of Big Trees will be denied entrance.

20. Automobiles entering between 3.30 p. m. and 5 p. m. may proceed to El Portal or other point on the road short of the Yosemite Valley or El Portal.

21. No automobile passing the Merced Grove of Big Trees after 3.30 p. m. shall enter the Yosemite Valley.

22. No inbound automobile shall leave El Portal and enter the park after 4.08 p. m.

23. No inbound automobile that does not reach the Cascade Station before 4.44 p. m. or the junction of the

Wawona and El Portal roads before 5.01 p. m. shall proceed further. It will be authorized to return to El Portal.

24. No inbound automobile shall pass the paying station below Camp Ahwahnee later than 5.30 p. m.

25. Automobiles outbound may leave the garage or automobile camp site between the hours of 7.30 a. m. and 4 p. m.

26. An automobile party camping on the automobile site may run the machine to and from the garage for the purpose of restocking or repairing same between the hours of 7.30 a. m. and 5 p.m. During these runs or other demonstrations the muffler must invariably be closed. No noisy demonstrations shall take place, *in situ*, before 7.30 a. m. or after 5 p. m.

27. An outward bound automobile will make no halt between its starting point and the Paying Station except to pick up passengers or baggage. (See time allowance, paragraph 32.)

28. In the Yosemite Valley automobiles inbound shall cross the Merced River at the Pohono bridge and proceed via Camp Ahwahnee, Yosemite Village, Camp Curry, Stoneman bridge, and Kenneyville to the garage, or to the automobile camp site designated for automobiles in the immediate vicinity of the garage.

29. Automobile parties destined to Camp Lost Arrow shall pass through the garage site to their destination. The automobile shall then be returned to the garage.

30. Automobile parties destined to Camp Ahwahnee, Sentinel Hotel, Camp Curry, or Camp Lost Arrow will proceed directly to their destination after checking in, halting at no intermediate point.

31. Parties upon arrival at destina-



tion shall immediately vacate the automobile which will proceed without unnecessary delay to the garage.

32. Automobiles halting at the hotel or at hotel camps will be allowed only the necessary time for the purpose of letting off or taking on passengers or baggage, or both, not to exceed five minutes. Hotel and camp concessionaires will be held responsible that this regulation is observed.

33. An automobile party may go into camp, keeping their automobile with them at the site designated as an automobile camp, and nowhere else.

34. An automobile party to hold a camping site in the automobile camp must actually camp with their automobiles.

35. The automobile of a party having sleeping accommodations at a hotel or hotel camp, or elsewhere than in the automobile camp, shall be placed in the garage and nowhere else.

36. If an automobile, through accident or other cause, is unable to proceed to its destination within the allotted period of time, it may, if west of the Cascade Station and outbound, proceed at its own risk in accordance with the speed regulations. If east of the Cascade Station, it will park and remain parked pending any instructions from the acting superintendent. Unless the breakage is an unusual one and the case a special one the automobile shall remain where parked until the following morning.

37. The garage "tow" or "trouble car" will not be allowed to proceed east or west out of hours.

38. No automobile, unless broken down or parked in accordance with orders, shall be temporarily abandoned anywhere

39. Muffler cut-outs must be effec-

tually closed on the automobile while traveling in either direction on the floor of the valley, as well as between the Pohono bridge and the park boundary in the Merced River gorge.

40. Outbound automobiles taking the Coulterville Road at the "Old Blacksmith Shop" may open their mufflers on the Coulterville Road ascent.

41. No sirens or electric horns shall be blown where the mufflers may not be opened.

42. While the automobile is being vacated or emptied of its load the chauffeur or driver shall not leave his automobile.

43. No automobile shall be left at any time without a driver except at the garage or in the automobile camp. Chauffeurs, before leaving the seat, shall stop the engine.

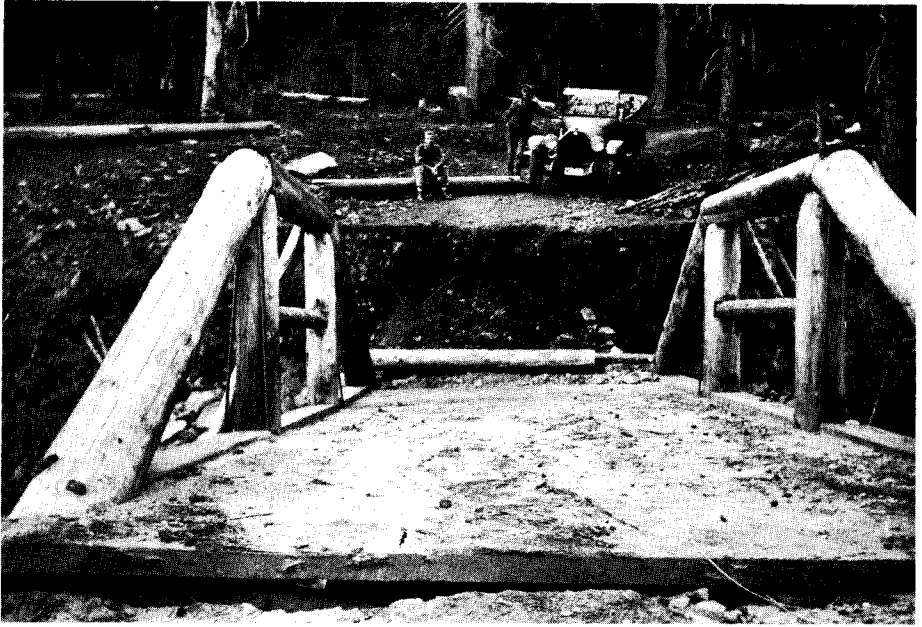
44. No person shall smoke while driving an automobile in the park.

45. The guard at Merced Grove will refuse admission to any automobile any occupant of which is under the influence of intoxicants.

46. Speed will be limited to 6 miles per hour, except on straight stretches where approaching teams will be visible, when, if no teams are in sight, this speed may be increased to an approximate maximum speed of 10 miles per hour, at no time to be exceeded (except that on the steep descent from the high land to the road in the Merced River gorge the maximum speed rate, inbound, is 5 miles per hour, and outbound, 6 miles per hour.)

47. Time lost by a slow-down shall not subsequently be made up by exceeding the speed limit.

48. No automobile shall exceed the speed limit to overtake and pass another automobile.



*By 1919, cars were roaming freely over what passed for roads. Here, two travelers take stock of a sagging bridge on the old Tioga Road. Undaunted, they jockeyed the Studebaker down the bank and roared across the bridge "at 45 miles per hour." (Courtesy of NPS Reference Library, Yosemite.)*



*By the late 1920's roads had been improved and the rush was under way. This long line of cars backed up at the Arch Rock entrance station on Lincoln's Birthday in 1927 was a portent of the crush to come. (Courtesy of the NPS Reference Library, Yosemite.)*

49. When automobiles meet on a grade where it is impossible or dangerous to pass, the automobile on the uphill side will back up to a turnout.

50. Teams have the right of way and automobiles will be backed or otherwise handled as necessary so as to enable teams to pass with safety.

51. When teams, saddle horses, or pack trains approach, the automobile shall take position on the outer edge of the road, taking care that sufficient room is left on the inside for the animals or teams to pass.

52. Automobiles, when overtaking teams, saddle horses, or pack trains shall take the outer side (i.e., dangerous side) of the road.

53. When teams, saddle horses, or pack trains approach, automobiles shall stop and remain at rest until the former have passed, or until the drivers or riders are satisfied regarding the safety of their horses. If the approaching animals manifest signs of fear, the engine must be stopped.

54. In case of emergency due to large amount of traffic on the El Portal Road which may cause animal-drawn vehicles to use the road at the same time as automobiles, both classes of vehicles proceeding in the same direction shall proceed at the same rate of speed, viz, that of the animal-drawn vehicle, until a turnout is reached, when the automobile, with due notification to and by agreement with the driver of the animal-drawn vehicle that passing is safe, may pass, taking the outside of the road.

55. Signal with horn shall be given at or near every turn in the road to announce to drivers of approaching teams the proximity of an automobile.

56. Parties possessing permits will not be allowed to do a commercial or

transportation business in the park without special license from the Secretary of the Interior.

57. No garage concessionaire will admit automobiles except on presentation of permit properly signed by the acting superintendent or his representative.

58. A failure to check at any station will result in ejection from the park.

59. Failure to surrender ticket of passage at auto camp checking station inbound, at Merced Grove outbound, or to exhibit it at any intermediate point when requested, will be considered a violation of the rules and subject the offender to the penalties.

60. Ejection from any point of the park will not work as a remission of fee, which must be paid in full, \$5, at the nearest station outward.

61. If an outward-bound automobile fails to surrender its ticket of passage and permit to the guard at the Merced Grove Station, a record of number, chauffeur, owner, or party responsible for the automobile will be taken, and the penalties for the violation of the rules and regulations of the park will thereafter attach to all. It will likewise be charged \$5 for each document lost.

62. Owners of automobiles which, for any reason, fail after entering the park to proceed as far as the paying station in Yosemite Valley, may secure a permit by remitting by mail to the acting superintendent a postal money order for \$5, payable to the order of the Secretary of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

63. Violation of any of the foregoing rules or general regulations for the government of the park will cause revocation of permit, and in addition to the penalties hereinbefore indicated

will subject the owner of the automobile to any damages occasioned thereby, ejectment from the reservation, and be cause for refusal to issue new permit to the owner without prior sanction in writing from the Secretary of the Interior.

64. An automobilist detected in violating any of these rules and regulations shall immediately park his automobile. The facts of the case will be at

once reported by the guard to the acting superintendent for his consideration.

65. Automobiles shall not enter the Valley via the Coulterville Road and proceed to El Portal via the Merced River Gorge Road, except in compliance with regulation No. 23.

LEWIS C. LAYLIN,  
*Assistant Secretary of the Interior.*

#### NOTES

1. John Muir. *The Mountains of California*. Natural History Association, Anchor Books, Doubleday, New York, 1962, page xi.
2. Reproduced from an original copy of the regulations in the National Park Service Reference Library, Yosemite.
3. Department of the Interior, National Park Service. *Master Plan Development Proposal for Yosemite National Park*, Yosemite, July 1971.

Walton Bean

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## Ideas of Reform in California

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“**R**EFORMERS” MAY BE DEFINED as those who believe that certain prevailing conditions of politics and society must be drastically improved. This definition, however, includes not only “progressives” and “liberals,” but also many “conservatives” and many “radicals.” This is not merely a semantic question. It also reflects some of the most troublesome problems in the history of reform, in America in general and California in particular. The ideology of the principal reform programs in the California politics of the 1850s so resembles the political philosophy of Governor Ronald Reagan that after the passage of eleven decades the history of ideas of reform in California appears more cyclical than evolutionary. And the role of radicalism in the history of reform has been highly important mainly because it has been repeatedly and almost cyclically disastrous.

In Winfield J. Davis's *History of Political Conventions in California, 1849-1892*, the word “reform” first appears in the resolutions of the Whig state convention of 1853: “Whereas the dominant party of the state [the Democrats] have, by mismanagement and corruption, bankrupted the treasury, and loaded us with a debt too grievous to be borne,” the Whigs demanded “a united concert of action to reform the state, on the part of all those who believe with us that public plunder is the object of the dominant party.”<sup>1</sup> Whig platforms of the early 'fifties repeatedly denounced “onerous and oppressive taxation,” and favored “the strictest economy in the administration of the state and federal government.”<sup>2</sup> Political reformers of that period assumed that large government expenditures must be mainly the result of corruption. Good government and honest government were synonymous with parsimonious government.

The Whig party of California virtually disbanded in 1855, and the American or Know-Nothing party took its place. In the platform adopted at its state convention on September 2, 1856, the American party, “being essen-



tially a reform party," pledged itself to "the great and essential reform movements of the day." These, along with the Pacific railroad, were "the purity of the ballot box and the elevation of none but pure men to positions as local officers."<sup>3</sup>

This language reflected the recent triumph of the Committee of Vigilance in San Francisco, a movement which Theodore H. Hittell described as "the most remarkable municipal reform ever known in the country,"<sup>4</sup> and which Josiah Royce defined and praised as "a Business Man's Revolution."<sup>5</sup> The motivations of vigilantism were complex, and some of the vigilante leaders who were most conscious of their righteous indignation as public-spirited citizens were probably finding subconscious satisfaction in sadistic ritual murder. But in another important aspect the leaders of the San Francisco Vigilance Committee of 1856 may be regarded as a self-appointed task force of leading businessmen with the mission of rendering the city government pure, efficient, and economical.

A week before the disbandment of the Vigilance Committee with a grand parade on August 18, its leaders had organized the People's Reform party. This was done at a mass meeting in response to a call that had been circulated for several days "among the businessmen of the city" and signed by "about three hundred first-class citizens."<sup>6</sup> The name of the new organization was soon shortened to the People's party. Its ticket received the endorsement of the Republican party, also recently formed. On November 4, 1856, in the first election under the consolidation act passed by the state legislature in April, the People's party won every office in the city-and-county of San Francisco. Ex-vigilantes watched the polling places and supervised the counting of the ballots.

For ten years, from the election of 1856 through that of 1865, the People's party governed California's metropolis. In the words of Hittell, its regime was one of "public order, decency, and economy . . . , bringing public business down to something like honest and private business principles and management."<sup>7</sup> City expenditures in 1857 were one-seventh of what they had been in 1855. Retrenchment was severe. For several months some of the public schools were closed and gas for lighting the streets was sharply curtailed. This, it was explained, was because the previous office holders had looted the treasury.

During the years of rule by the People's party many San Franciscans boasted that theirs was the best-governed city in the United States, and it would be hard to deny that the city was more honestly governed than before, or for several decades afterward. Had the vigilance movement confined itself to taking control of the city government through the legal political process, without the previous resort to illegal force, it would have a much more creditable place in history.

The chief reform movement of the early 'seventies, which won some brief

and illusory success in the state elections of 1873, was called the Independent Taxpayers party. In 1875 the first plank in the platform of the Temperance Reform party was "economy in the administration of the government"—ahead of the planks denouncing the monopoly of lands by speculators, opposing subsidies to railroads, and favoring the eight-hour day and federal action against Chinese labor.<sup>8</sup> The resolution against the evils of intemperance was mild, calling only for a liquor license tax of \$30 a month and a law against the sale of liquor in grocery stores. California was one of the states least receptive even to hints of prohibition, but the other planks were attractive enough to win a quarter of the total vote for the Temperance Reform candidate for governor, John Bidwell, who was also the first president of the California Grange.

In the last third of the nineteenth century the great corporation became associated in villainy with the corrupt politician. To some degree the onus shifted from corruption in the spending of public money to corruption in the spending of corporation money, on bribes or the effective equivalent of bribes. "The Railroad" was the principal offender in state politics, as were local public utility companies at the city level. Railroad control of the state government was not, of course, complete or successful in every instance; but in general it was extremely successful, and essentially corrupt. Moreover, one of the Southern Pacific's most important political techniques was its control of reform movements, as William F. Herrin once candidly remarked.<sup>9</sup> Because this tactic was successful for so long, Herrin assumed that he could use it indefinitely. Like the late Lucius Beebe, he met the challenge of the twentieth century by refusing to emerge from the nineteenth.

The general theme of early-twentieth-century progressivism, as Richard Hofstadter summarized it in *The Age of Reform*, was nostalgic and conservative. It was "the effort to restore a type of economic individualism and political democracy that was widely believed to have existed earlier in America and to have been destroyed by the great corporation and the corrupt political machine; and . . . to bring back a kind of morality and civic purity that was also believed to have been lost."<sup>10</sup> The leaders of the movement, in Hofstadter's view, were patrician reformers—urban upper-middle-class business and professional men who regarded themselves as an intellectual and moral elite, and who resented the loss of the status and political influence that men of their kind had once had. George E. Mowry reached similar conclusions in *The California Progressives*.<sup>11</sup>

Several later studies have challenged this interpretation, suggesting that the leadership of progressivism was much more diverse than this or any other single description can encompass.<sup>12</sup> Consider, for example, the diversity among California's "millionaire progressives," William Kent, Rudolph Spreckels, James D. Phelan, Edwin T. Earl. Gaylord Wilshire was a "millionaire socialist," though better described as reportedly an ex-millionaire.

Status, it would appear, is highly questionable as a factor determining whether men became progressives or stand-patters. Mowry's profile of the social origins and status of the California progressive would fit many of the conservative politicians also. Here, in Mowry's defense, it should be noted that his biographical studies did not include many California conservatives, partly because they had tended to keep their papers from the historian, and a historian is no better than his sources.

Studies in the politics of states as diverse as Massachusetts, New York, and Wisconsin<sup>13</sup> have pointed out that labor produced an important contingent of American progressive leadership. There were virtually no labor leaders in Mowry's profile; but it should be recalled that Mowry's "California Progressives" were Republican progressives, because Republican rather than Democratic reformers won the election of 1910. Labor's partisan allegiance in California was normally Democratic; and another factor in the 1910 election was that 25 percent of the votes in the working class districts of San Francisco went to the Socialist candidate for governor, J. Stitt Wilson of Berkeley.<sup>14</sup> In 1910 the Socialists won the highest percentage of votes they ever received in California, and the nearly 13 percent of the statewide vote that went to Stitt Wilson probably had the effect of electing Hiram Johnson over the Democratic reform candidate Theodore Bell. This was an illustration of one of the most important factors in the history of California politics: the role of radicalism in the history of proposals for reform, and the effects of radicalism on the political fortunes of reform movements.

"Radical," as Daniel Boorstin has recently reminded us,<sup>15</sup> comes from the Latin *radix*, or root, and thus radicals are those who believe in reforms that go to the root of the matter. In American politics since the end of reconstruction after the Civil War, "radicalism" has involved mainly the relations between capitalism and democracy, and we can define this radicalism as mainly the various degrees and kinds of socialism. Chester Rowell and Meyer Lissner were among the California progressives who came to believe, for a time, that there was no sharp demarcation between progressivism and socialism.<sup>16</sup>

Progressivism derived some of its ideas from populism, and populism in California was particularly indebted to an American brand of socialism. In the spring of 1889, the year after the publication of Edward Bellamy's utopian romance, *Looking Backward*, Burnette Haskell organized a Bellamyite Nationalist club in San Francisco. Haskell's original interest in promoting Nationalism was to gain new supporters for his tottering Kaweah colony, but he also proposed to turn San Francisco into a Nationalist city beginning with public ownership of utilities. The movement spread rapidly, and within a few months there were more Nationalist clubs in California, particularly in southern California, than in any other part of the country. Nationalism quickly shattered into factions, partly because Bellamy's evolutionary, non-

violent Christian socialism was too mild for half of the members and too radical for the other half. But the movement gained thousands of converts, of whom the more radical soon became socialists and the more moderate became the left wing of the Populist party when it was organized in California in 1891.<sup>17</sup>

In the split between reformers and revolutionists, which sundered the Nationalist movement and seriously weakened not only populism but also socialism and progressivism, the most emotional and divisive factor was the question of violence. Burnette Haskell had organized his anarchist International Workmen's Association in San Francisco in 1882. Though not affiliated with the International Working People's Association or "Black International," a branch of anarchism organized in London a year earlier, Haskell's group was patterned after it, and followed its policy of endorsing "propaganda by the deed," which seemed to mean bombs and assassinations.<sup>18</sup> Haskell's advocacy of violence was all rhetoric and no action, but it blighted his attempts to gain an effective following.

The Industrial Workers of the World, organized in Chicago in 1905, advocated the "abolition of the wage system" and of capitalism in general, by "any and all tactics that will get the results sought." This language, with its implied threat of bloody violence, inflamed public opinion against the I.W.W. even though more violence was used against its members than they ever used themselves. They advocated sabotage, though the extent to which they practiced it was greatly exaggerated in hysterical editorials. As Upton Sinclair observed, they "were said to drive copper nails into fruit trees. I made inquiries among arboriculturists, but could not find a single one who see what harm copper nails could do in a fruit tree." At the trial of the I.W.W. leaders in Chicago in 1918, Bill Haywood claimed that sabotage meant slowing down on the job, not the destruction of property. But the trial resulted in long prison sentences that reflected popular alarm. The Wobblies had a genius for antagonizing the general public; it was widely asserted that I.W.W. meant "I trouble you, trouble you."<sup>19</sup>

The moderate socialists, unlike the I.W.W., favored cooperation with the craft unions. The Socialist party was founded, at the turn of the century, largely because the older Socialist Labor party under Daniel De Leon had refused to cooperate with the A.F. of L. and had tried to form revolutionist unions in competition with it. In California such moderate Socialist leaders as Job Harriman and J. Stitt Wilson believed in revolution only through the ballot box. When Stitt Wilson ran for governor in 1910 he began his campaign tour in a car painted red, but he soon decided to add stripes of white and blue, a concession that immensely disgusted the left-wingers.<sup>20</sup> Wilson was elected mayor of Berkeley in 1911, though without a majority in the city council; and Harriman would probably have been elected mayor of Los Angeles in the same year if the McNamara brothers had not

confessed their responsibility for the bombing of the Los Angeles *Times*.

The troubled relations between reform and radicalism are well exemplified in the relations between Upton Sinclair and Jack London, and in their careers and ideas. To Sinclair, socialism was merely modern democracy, and he was perennially and incurably optimistic about the possibilities of achieving it. In 1907, for example, he published a book called *The Industrial Republic: a Study of America Ten Years Hence*, in which William Randolph Hearst, as a progressive Democrat, was elected President in 1912 and ended a great financial panic by peacefully leading the United States into socialism through federal ownership of the trusts. (Sinclair remarked in his autobiography that he had never reprinted *The Industrial Republic*.) Jack London's socialist ideas were much less optimistic and much more radical than Sinclair's. Both were major figures in the popularization of socialist thought. Not only the novels but also the radical tracts of both Sinclair and London were more widely read throughout the world than the writings of Henry George or Edward Bellamy.

Jack London was born, albeit illegitimately, in San Francisco in 1876. Upton Sinclair, born two years later in Baltimore, came to California for his health in 1915 at the age of 37. He lived there 43 years, until his death at 90, which suggests that the California environment once had health-giving qualities. Jack London died in 1916, at 40, a hopeless alcoholic. Upton Sinclair was a life-long teetotaler.

Though the Sinclairs came from a long line of British and American naval officers, Upton's father had been declassed to the level of a traveling salesman. He was a periodic drunkard, and various relatives had to help with the care of his son. As Upton Sinclair himself once perceptively remarked, the deepest and strongest of the forces that would ultimately make him a socialist was "the psychology of a poor relation." As a child he had been made to feel rejected and patronized at the same time. It gave him a sympathy with all the despised and oppressed and unfortunate people of the world, and it also gave him an urge to change and overthrow whatever prevailing system of things it was that could be blamed for the existence of such humiliating human suffering. He was one of the many radicals who have become so because of their own peculiarly personal miseries, projected outward upon the problems of society at large.<sup>21</sup> Jack London was another, though he lacked Sinclair's ability to understand his own inner feelings and motives and learn to live with them.

In 1905 Sinclair founded the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, because, he said, he had spent five years at the City College of New York and four years of graduate work at Columbia without being informed that there was such a thing as a socialist movement, and he felt that this state of affairs in American colleges should be remedied. Sinclair conceived the Intercollegiate Socialist Society as an educational organization advocating socialism through the



democratic process alone. But the organization received its widest publicity when it sponsored a lecture tour by Jack London, who shocked audiences of students at Harvard and Yale and petrified an audience of wealthy people in New York City with flamboyant demands for "Revolution." A *New York Times* editorial<sup>22</sup> complained that "Mr. Jack London's socialism is bloody war. . . . He says so. It is destructive socialism. He glories in it." Sinclair wrote a letter to the *Times*, claiming that London's meaning had been distorted and that when he had spoken of "the blood-red banner of revolution" he had meant it "as a symbol of the brotherhood of Man, and not of War and Destruction."<sup>23</sup>

Sinclair was disposed to defend Jack London at every turn, and to gloss over the great differences in their ideas. In the previous year, after a series of publishers had rejected his manuscript of Sinclair's *The Jungle*, and when it was being serialized in the socialist *Appeal to Reason*, London wrote a glowing review describing it as "the *Uncle Tom's Cabin* of wage slavery" and calling on the readers of the *Appeal* to send in advance orders so that it could be published as a book. Thousands of orders came in. Thus it was London who had launched Sinclair into his first major success as a writer, and Sinclair was eternally grateful.<sup>24</sup>

London did not share Sinclair's faith that socialism could be achieved without violence, because London believed that if socialism ever achieved victory at the ballot box the capitalists would use organized violence to prevent that victory. This was the message of *The Iron Heel* (1907), London's remarkable prediction of the rise of fascism. Many moderate socialists criticized this novel for its scenes of bloody massacre, in which mobs of workers fell in heaps before the machine guns of "the Oligarchs." The young Fabian John Spargo, for example, complained that the novel would "repel many whose addition to our forces is sorely needed; . . . it tends to weaken the socialist movement by discrediting the ballot and to encourage the chimerical and reactionary notion of physical force, so alluring to a certain type of mind."<sup>25</sup>

London's socialism was full of extreme contradictions. One of them was a contempt, quite apparent in *The Iron Heel*, for the enslaved masses whose cause he espoused, and with whom he had suffered as a child and a young man. Nietzsche and Marx were strangely intertwined in his thought and feelings and in his personal life. He never reconciled this inner conflict, and as Max Lerner remarked in his introduction to a new edition of *The Iron Heel*, "I think he died of it."<sup>26</sup> In London's most successful book, *The Call of the Wild* (1903), the rise of a dog to leadership of a wolf pack in the Klondike was clearly an allegory of the superman; yet London was entirely unaware of this while he was writing the novel, and he became only partially aware of it after reviewers pointed it out and he reread his own book. According to his daughter Joan, who knew him in some respects better than

he knew himself, the long-coveted personal success that the novel brought him destroyed any curiosity he may have felt about his own motives and perspectives.<sup>27</sup> He rationalized his surrender to the urge for individual success, as his friend Anna Strunsky sadly observed, by saying that he needed to beat the capitalists at their own game in order to show them that a socialist could achieve as much as any of them.<sup>28</sup>

Interrelated with London's admiration for the superman was his belief in the master race. He identified himself with both. As a war correspondent for the Hearst newspapers he expressed his horror that "a yellow, inferior race" like the Japanese had defeated, captured and humiliated Russian soldiers with "eyes bluer than mine" and "skin as white." When a fellow-socialist chided him for such racist sentiments at a party meeting in Oakland, London burst out, "What the Devil! I am first of all a white man, and only then a Socialist." He even argued that socialism was "devised for the happiness of certain kind of races."<sup>29</sup> Most American socialists probably shared this opinion. Upton Sinclair wrote cautiously that "I can understand both sides in the racial problem."<sup>30</sup> He was a southerner by birth and youth in Maryland, and his second wife was a Mississippian, the daughter of a judge who was also a cotton planter. Racism, unfortunately, has been as deep and pervasive in the history of California as in that of any state outside the South, though orientals were the main objects of overt racial hostility before the great Negro migration to California during World War II years. Racist laws were often advocated as measures of social reform, with the nearly unanimous support of all-white labor unions. The intense emotion of racial hostility may have been the greatest single reason that craft unions became more powerful in San Francisco than in any other American city at the turn of the century. The vast majority of California progressives of all parties also believed in white supremacy. This was clear in the debates in the legislature on the alien land law. In the debates on the eight-hour day for women in 1911, advocates of the measure argued that the alternative was "race suicide" because women of lower races could work a longer day and still become mothers, but white women could not. "The preservation of the motherhood of the race," said Chester Rowell's Fresno *Republican*, "is more important than the protection of the individual woman's liberty of contract."<sup>31</sup>

The years during and after World War I were disastrous both for the moderate socialists and for the liberal progressives. In 1919 the left wing Socialists, encouraged by the Bolshevik Revolution, split off to form the Communist Labor party, which later merged with the Communist party.<sup>32</sup> Majority public opinion strongly favored the new state laws that branded the I.W.W. as "criminal syndicalism," and the trials that sent many of its members to long terms in prison simply on the evidence that they were members. The most recent history of the I.W.W. argues that its tactics strengthened the cause of organized labor by frightening employers into

encouraging the development of non-revolutionary unions.<sup>33</sup> Actually the I.W.W. frightened the majority of the public into supporting new campaigns for the open shop. Unions were badly weakened even in San Francisco, where the 1920's were a heyday of company unionism and "welfare capitalism."

Conservative progressives in the 'twenties called for "business efficiency" and "business integrity" as the most important methods of reforming government. State Controller John S. Chambers told the State Association of County Assessors in 1920 that "the taxpayers themselves constitute a very *unfortunate class*," and that government must "give profound thought to their *welfare*."<sup>34</sup>

Governor Friend W. Richardson called for budget slashes in language reminiscent of the People's Reform party. Governor C. C. Young also learned the value of applying the vocabulary of business to politics, though by doing so he managed to obtain a few pieces of progressive social legislation, including the law of 1927 establishing the first mandatory state old age pension system in the country. Moral progressives, in the meantime, were defending prohibition as the surest method of social reform.<sup>35</sup>

The great depression so shattered public confidence in the Republican philosophy of business leadership that the failure of the New Deal to produce a Democratic governor of California in 1934 is nearly incredible. Almost any New Deal Democrat could have defeated Frank F. Merriam; but Upton Sinclair's belief that he could use New Deal democracy as a vehicle for socialism proved disastrously wrong.

When he decided to run as a Democrat instead of a Socialist, Sinclair had not supposed that he could possibly win the Democratic nomination, and he was "astonished by the tidal wave that came roaring in and gathered me up."<sup>36</sup> The menace of utter destitution had radicalized hundreds of thousands of registered Democrats. President Franklin D. Roosevelt tried to persuade J.F.T. O'Connor, a Los Angeles law partner of Senator William G. McAdoo, to leave the federal office of comptroller of the currency and run for the nomination against Sinclair, but O'Connor refused on the ground that he would have no chance to stop him in the primary. George Creel unwisely consented to try, and failed miserably. "The worst of it was," Creel complained, "that I could not attack Sinclair's sincerity. . . . Starry-eyed and ecstatic, he believed as implicitly in his nostrums as Peter the Hermit in the validity of the Children's Crusade."<sup>37</sup>

After his victory in the Democratic primary Sinclair came to believe that he would actually come to power, and this delusion deprived him of his earlier faculties of self-analysis and self-criticism. He convinced himself that massive plans of "production for use, not for profit," which he had long advocated as a socialist, could work within the capitalist system—that capitalists would buy California state bonds to finance the public enterprises that

would put them out of business. He was sure that both Roosevelt and Creel would ultimately endorse his candidacy. After Sinclair had reneged on a tentative agreement to tone down the socialism in EPIC campaign literature in return for Creel's support, Creel wrote to him: "I do not question your honesty, but you have the most amazing faculty of making yourself believe what you want to believe." As Creel lamented, he "was now a man without a vote, for between the epilepsy of Sinclair and the catalepsy of Merriam there was no choice."<sup>38</sup>

Creel, like Senator Hiram Johnson, became increasingly alienated from the New Deal in the second half of the 1930's, and broke completely with Franklin Roosevelt over the issue of a third term. A remarkable number of old progressives turned against the New Deal, many because they regarded themselves as devoted to clear, consistent, and logical ideas, and were offended by the freewheeling opportunism of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry Hopkins.<sup>39</sup> "Comparison between the progressive movement of other years and the so-called 'liberal' movement of today," wrote Creel, "shows how far we have fallen from the heights. . . . Progressivism preached . . . a love of country and pride in our free institutions," while "present day 'liberalism' . . . is anti-American" and "stands for the obliteration of individualism at the hands of an all-powerful state. . . . 'Liberals' sneer at patriotism as old-fashioned and talk of 'revolution' as calmly as though they were ordering a sundae." These words appeared in an autobiography called *Rebel at Large*; but Creel did not regard that as inconsistent. Although his whole life, as he saw it, had been "devoted to criticism of the barnacled faults of the American system," he had "never once . . . doubted the wisdom and rightness of the system itself."<sup>40</sup>

Upton Sinclair was a completely well-meaning and in many ways an admirable man, but the damage he did to the Democratic party and to the New Deal liberalism in California was enormous and its after-effects were apparent for decades. One result was the long era of Republicans Earl Warren and Goodwin J. Knight, and their success in winning the votes of Democrats with a revival of the Hiram Johnson tradition of so-called "nonpartisanship." Many of Governor Warren's proposals in the fields of health, welfare, and labor were attacked and defeated on the ground that they were socialistic. Irritated by these attacks, Warren struggled to persuade Republicans that social progress was the creed of Lincoln, and that those who confused social progress with socialism should remember Lincoln's remark about the differences between a horse chestnut and chestnut horse.<sup>41</sup>

The right-wing radicalism of William F. Knowland's assault on organized labor made possible the election of liberal Democrat Edmund G. Brown in 1958. The right-wing extremism of the John Birch Society was a monkey that Richard Nixon tried and failed to shake off the elephant's back in 1962.

But the revival of left-wing extremism was a major factor in the defeat of Brown and the election of Ronald Reagan in 1966.

The New Left of the 1960's was not as new as is commonly supposed, or as new as many of its own followers supposed. The Students for a Democratic Society, for example, were directly descended from the Intercollegiate Socialist Society which Upton Sinclair had founded in 1905. That organization was broadened in 1921, renamed the League for Industrial Democracy, and opened to non-collegians, with a Student League for Industrial Democracy as a subsidiary. In 1935, against the advice of the parent organization, the Student L.I.D. broke away, gave up its identity, and merged into the American Student Union sponsored by the Communist "popular front" movement. In 1947, disillusioned by Communist tactics, the young socialists re-established the youth arm of the League for Industrial Democracy under a new constitution that condemned all forms of totalitarianism.<sup>42</sup> But in the early 1960's the youth section, now called Students for a Democratic Society, again rebelled against the parent League which resisted their desire to engage in militant activism.<sup>43</sup> Once again there was a generation gap between younger and older American socialists. The young militants, who did not know their history, were doomed to repeat it.

What was relatively new about the young radicals of the New Left in the early 1960's was their fascination with the tactics of "civil disobedience" in a form that Henry David Thoreau would never have recognized. Thoreau had demanded to be put in jail. The I.W.W.s had deliberately filled the jails in their fights for free speech. Mahatma Ghandi and Martin Luther King expected to be imprisoned if they broke the law. But the New Left student radicals, in the first flush of their revolutionary dawn, believed that they could avoid imprisonment or any other form of punishment. The tactics they borrowed from the Negro civil rights movement made them feel both invincible and invulnerable, and this intoxicated them with a delusory sense of power. After the Sproul Hall sit-in at the University of California, Berkeley of December 1964, however, the courts ruled that going limp was merely a form of resisting arrest. The sense of newness and magic soon went out of student radicalism, and a sense of frustration and desperation took its place. In the tactics of confrontation and disruption the idea of non-violence was soon lost, and a drift toward violence and vandalism set in. "The movement" became a communal attempt to escape from reality. Some of this new lost generation found escape in revolutionist fantasies, others in drugs. Some found escape in SDS, some in LSD, many in both. It was a tragedy, not only for the young people themselves but also for a society that cried out for improvement and badly needed the freshness of youthful idealism.

Expert advisers of Ronald Reagan's campaign for governor in 1966 reported that the strongest single emotion of California voters was their hos-



tility toward the student disorders at Berkeley, and that Reagan's audiences gave their loudest applause to his promises to deal firmly with campus disrupters.<sup>44</sup> This was significantly interrelated with the growing public resentment against high taxes. Public money was being used to support universities and colleges for the education of those who were trying to shut them down—to bring them, in the words of Mario Savio, “to a grinding halt.” Black rioters in the ghetto of Watts reinforced white majority resistance to residential integration. Young white student rioters on the campuses reinforced the growing resistance to taxation, and provided a new excuse for it. Reagan was the political beneficiary.

Ronald Reagan considered himself a political and moral reformer, though he did not find it convenient to use the word. His ideas of public finance sounded remarkably like those of the People's Reform party of the 1850s, or of Governor Friend W. Richardson in the 1920s. He described his typical constituent as “the forgotten man . . . the man in the suburbs working 60 hours a week to support his family and being heavily taxed for someone else.” “The Forgotten Man” was originally the title of a lecture by William Graham Sumner in 1883, when Sumner used the phrase to describe “the self-supporting and self-respecting person who has to bear the cost of all the political bungling and social quackery.”<sup>45</sup> Reagan summed up his political ideal as “the Creative Society.” The phrase was generously donated by the Reverend Dr. W. Stuart McBirnie, a fundamentalist and ultraconservative radio preacher in Glendale; and the ideas resembled the rugged individualism of Herbert Hoover.<sup>46</sup> But Reagan's Creative Society after all, was not the only American political reform movement to have strongly nostalgic and conservative qualities. So did much of the progressive movement. And Richard Nixon in his first year in the presidency talked more about reform than any Republican president since Theodore Roosevelt.

Right-wing extremism has often discredited conservatism. But much more often and much more clearly, left-wing extremism has ruined the fortunes of liberal reform, by alarming and alienating the mass of the voters and throwing them into the arms of the conservative “reformers.” Indeed this may be the clearest single lesson that emerges from the history of ideas of reform in California.

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## The Struggle for the Australian Ballot in California

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WHEN CALIFORNIANS go to the polls this election year, their attention will focus mostly on foreign policy, economic, and ecological issues. In their preoccupation, they will probably take for granted the fact they are able to vote in secrecy, without fear of intimidation, and that their ballot will be honestly tabulated. However, this was not always the case. In the late nineteenth century, Californians, like other Americans, were increasingly distressed by the blatant fraud and corruption which characterized elections to public office. The buying and selling of votes, the tampering with election returns, and the bullying of voters was so rampant that the state legislature in 1891 was finally moved to completely revamp the voting process.

The result of the legislature's actions was the adoption of the so-called Australian ballot, a voting system pioneered in New South Wales, where officials were concerned with checking the spread to the colony of corrupt English election practices.<sup>1</sup> The Australian ballot system contained several important innovations. The ballot was printed by state or local government and distributed at the polls on election day by public officials. The names of all candidates of all the parties were printed on one "blanket" ballot which was marked in the privacy of an enclosed booth, thus assuring complete secrecy. Today, the paper ballots, ink pads and rubber stamps in many areas have given way to voting machines and computer punch cards. But the basic tenet of the Australian ballot system—the right of a voter to cast a free and secret ballot—still forms the foundation of the election system. The following is an account of the struggle to adopt the Australian ballot in California.

The California election system prior to 1891, was based on a series of state laws which permitted each party to print and distribute its own election tickets. The tickets were merely long, narrow slips of paper, headed by a vignette, on which were printed the names of a party's candidates for each office. They were given out to the faithful on election day by party ticket peddlers who stationed themselves on the streets and corners around the

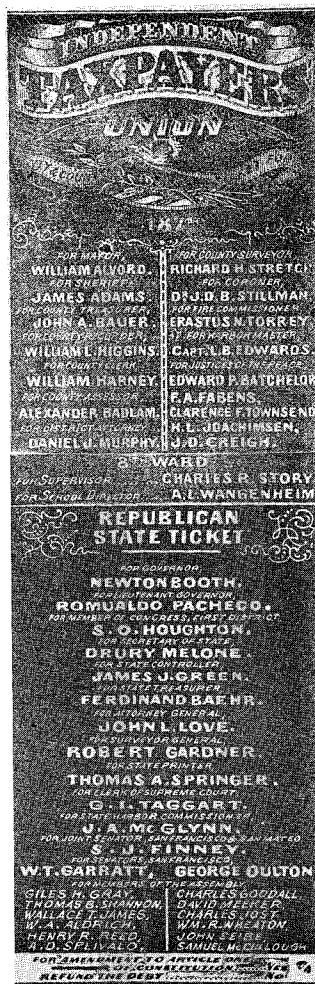
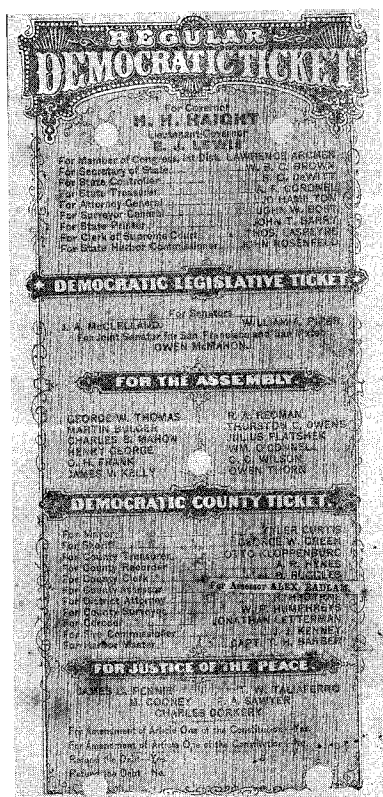
polls. This system was frequently abused. In some of the more partisan wards a voter could search blocks and blocks before finding a consentient ticket peddler. Even with ticket in hand the elector had to maintain his vigilance, for it was not uncommon for contending factions or parties to counterfeit their opponents' tickets, substituting one or two of their own for the names listed on the regular ticket. Under these circumstances, if the elector was not wary, he might then vote for a couple of opposition candidates, while under the impression he was casting a straight party ticket.

Small groups of political opportunists, called piece clubs, within and without the major parties generated other problems. The law usually allowed any group, no matter how small, to call itself a party, hold a nominating convention and print election tickets. Consequently, major party candidates were all too often contacted by individuals claiming to represent small parties, and informed they had received the group's endorsement. To facilitate the arrangement, the candidate was expected to make a campaign contribution. If he declined he was struck from the clubs' ticket and his name was that less widely circulated on election day. By refusing to cooperate, candidates faced the additional danger of having their campaigns disrupted by the scorned club members. In these instances the problem became one of extortion and blackmail. Commenting on this situation in 1877, the *San Francisco Bulletin* stated:

Candidates are honored with more than a passing notice of their endorsement by way of polite words to the effect that 'You are hereby notified that you have been endorsed by the Whang Doodle Convention, your assessment is now due, amount to \$\_\_\_\_\_, . . . and again 'we have placed your name upon our ticket for the office of \_\_\_\_\_, and assess you \$\_\_\_\_\_. We shall print 3,000,000 tickets, etc., etc. . . . Please arrange to pay before next Tuesday.' . . . A candidate for a prominent office has received notices of assessments from that number of conventions, for amounts of \$500, \$300, \$200, \$375, \$200.<sup>2</sup>

The problem was not easy to solve. At many elections, particularly in a city, there were often legitimate splinter parties claiming small constituencies. Candidates naturally welcomed the opportunity to have their names appear on as many tickets as possible, but it was difficult to distinguish authentic parties from the piece clubs.<sup>3</sup> In San Francisco, Dennis Kearney's Workingmen's movement contributed to a confusing proliferation of municipal organizations which spawned such groups as the Citizens Independent Party, the Workingmen's Trade and Labor Party, the People's Reform and Anti-Coolie Party, and the Independent Democratic Liberal Republican Anti-Coolie Labor Reform Party. While there can be little doubt that this last organization was a piece club, it is entirely possible that some one of the others did represent a genuine special interest group. This increase in the number of election tickets was a major problem in the rational operation of the election process in a large city. In San Francisco in 1886,





When a voter of the 1870's dropped one of these distinctively printed "tape worm" ballots into the box, he left no doubts in anyone's mind as to his voting preferences. Party functionaries distributed these tickets to their followers and made sure the ballots were actually used. The Australian ballot displaced this corrupt system. (From CHS Library.)

there were reportedly in circulation six state tickets, and twenty-six county and municipal tickets.<sup>4</sup>

The party ticket became a legal ballot when deposited in the ballot box. Because the ballot box usually stood in the center of a public room, secret voting was difficult and manipulation relatively easy. The problem was compounded because the dominant political faction in a precinct, ward, or county, usually controlled the appointment of election officials. Therefore, even if the voting was conducted by the rules, it was uncertain whether the ballots would be honestly tabulated. Consequently, the men who made up a city's "respectable element," on occasion, felt obliged to shun the polls on voting day because they despaired of a fair count and were unwilling to risk involvement in the prevalent rowdyism of a hotly contested election. Workingmen, fearing intimidation by their employers, objected to the ease with which their ballots could be identified; while the Grangers and Alliancemen

who would join the Populist Party likewise condemned a system they felt blocked free expression of the public will.

In 1883, Henry George, who in 1871 was one of the first men in America to urge use of the Australian ballot, charged that illicit election practices were so widespread that only rich or dishonest men were able to run for public office. In the next few years, in his newspaper the *Standard*, he continued to call the attention of his New York readers to the reform.<sup>5</sup> But to George the Australian ballot was a matter of secondary importance to the greater need for land reform. Consequently, it was not the single-taxer who bore the brunt of the Atlantic coast campaign for the reform ballot, but men of a more conservative cast. Using as their medium the pages of the New York genteel press, such gentlemen reformers as Allen Thorndike Rice, publisher of *The North American Review*, John H. Wigmore, a graduate of Harvard and the future dean of the Northwestern law school, and Richard Henry Dana, scion of an old New England family and Secretary of the Massachusetts Ballot Reform League, advised their readers on the need for the Australian ballot. To them it was a necessary adjunct to the recently passed civil service system and the best way to reduce "the alarming proportion of venal voters." Indeed, according to Rice, "the best men can be generally called into public service only by a purification of the present system. . . . The Australian [system] must form the basis of a radical remedy."<sup>6</sup>

The far west, however, was in a more formative social stage in the 1890's, and contained proportionately fewer members of the self-conscious, displaced elite of the east. In California, the influence of middle class reformers only was present in the early stages of the campaign for the Australian ballot. Later direction of the movement was dominated by a coalition made up of Grangers, Alliancemen, and members of the organized labor movement in San Francisco who were allied to the Democratic Party and influenced by the ideas of Henry George.<sup>7</sup>

Sometime in 1889, a leader of the California movement, James G. Maguire, met with Allen Thorndike Rice and was provided with much needed promotional literature. Maguire, a San Francisco judge and Democratic politician, who enjoyed considerable labor support, was a disciple and friend of Henry George. It is likely that George, a contributor to the *North American Review*, introduced Maguire to the New York publisher.<sup>8</sup>

Equally important to the early stages of the campaign were the contributions of two youthful proponents of good government, John Henry Wigmore and Franklin K. Lane. Born and raised in San Francisco, Wigmore attended Harvard University but returned briefly to the bay area in 1883. Together with Lane, a future Secretary of the Interior in the cabinet of Woodrow Wilson, he organized the San Francisco Municipal Reform

League. The League was an unsuccessful attempt to challenge the domination of city Democratic boss Christopher Buckley.<sup>9</sup> Within a few years Wigmore was back in Massachusetts where, in January 1889, he published *The Australian Ballot System as Embodied in the Legislation of Various Countries*. It contained a history of the Australian ballot and a summary of the ballot legislation in the various states. The book was popular enough to require a second edition ten months after its original printing. In this edition, the author added a guide to the formation of leagues "to enforce and facilitate the working of the reform law where enacted [as well as] to organize a movement for its enactment," and requested copies of all reform ballot bills introduced in the state legislatures, and "some account of the history of the agitation."<sup>10</sup>

In September 1888, Wigmore had sent Lane a draft of the Massachusetts reform ballot law. Early the following year Lane, who was then lobbying for the passage of a similar bill in California, reported to Wigmore that "your book has been of the greatest assistance to me. I tell you I felt quite proud in addressing the distinguished legislature to refer to 'my friend Wigmore's book.'" <sup>11</sup>

Franklin K. Lane's lobbying activities were part of the first concerted effort in California to secure the Australian ballot. In 1888 the San Francisco Federated Trades Council, a loosely organized body of fifty-four craft unions, was joined by the Young Men's Democratic League in a campaign to secure passage of a reform ballot bill.<sup>12</sup> The League, led by Lane, tried to pressure the legislature. Lane wrote Wigmore on January 29, 1889, that there would soon be held in San Francisco "one of those huge 'spontaneous' mass meetings (which require so much preparation) in support and endorsement of the bill." A month later, Maguire addressed the meeting of the joint legislative elections committee. On this occasion he spoke of the "floaters" of San Francisco who, after selling their votes, were driven to the polls like cattle. So pervasive was the bosses' power, Maguire felt that no one obtained a nomination without bowing to their will. "It is not a matter of Democracy and Republicanism, with the bosses, it is 'spoils.' Their motive is plunder and power."<sup>13</sup> The lobbying of Lane and the arguments of Maguire made their impression. On February 21, the Assembly's elections committee favorably reported a substitute for the four ballot reform bills under advisement.<sup>14</sup> The new bill progressed smoothly through the file and on March 1 was read a third time and passed fifty-five to seventeen. However, the next day the lower house voted to reconsider its action and two days later on March 4, refused passage by a vote of forty-seven to twenty-six.<sup>15</sup>

Although it is not clear exactly why the Assemblymen reversed themselves, the ultimate defeat of the reform in 1889 is best attributed to the public's unfamiliarity with the new voting system. Only ten states that year had

Australian ballot legislation on the books, and with the exception of Montana and Minnesota, none of these were west of the Mississippi. Moreover, neither party officially championed the reform, as evidenced by the non-partisan Assembly vote. Thirty Democrats and twenty-one Republicans originally favored the bill, and twenty-one Republicans and twenty-six Democrats eventually combined to reject it.<sup>16</sup> The reformers were dismayed at their failure. Lane thought the Assemblymen were interested only in "boodle." The editors of the *Sacramento Record-Union* agreed, considering the bill to be entirely too much reform for one California legislature to handle.<sup>17</sup>

The defeat in the California Assembly was tempered by success the reform enjoyed in other parts of the country (in 1890, seven more states had adopted some type of Australian ballot legislation, bringing the total to seventeen), and did nothing to diminish the reformers' zeal. They would try again at the next legislative session and this time enjoy the additional support of the California Grange and the state Democratic Party. The first blow of the new campaign was struck in August 1890. A group of San Francisco Democrats, opposed to Christopher Buckley's control of the municipal party, attended the Democratic state convention in San Jose. By securing convention endorsement of the Australian ballot, the anti-Buckley faction hoped to gain the support of union members and others interested in the reform for its challenge to Buckley in the upcoming primary elections. The outcome was a plank in the Democratic platform pledging all party legislative nominees to work for the adoption of the Australian ballot.<sup>18</sup>

Several weeks later, at a regular Friday night meeting of the Federated Trades held on September 6, the Council's legislative committee reported that a committee of Grangers planned to visit the city to confer on ways of publicizing the reform. At the ensuing get together, the two organizations united in support of one measure and agreed for the Grange to canvass the countryside while the unionists campaigned in the cities.<sup>19</sup>

As the movement made headway, its partisan nature became apparent. Towards the end of September, a conference was held of representatives from the various organizations advocating the reform. Meeting ostensibly to prepare an address for delivery to the coming session of the legislature, the delegates used the occasion to blast the Republican Party. The GOP state convention was charged with having refused to endorse ballot reform, despite a special request by the Federated Trades. To make matters worse, Republicans in the national Congress had demonstrated their antipathy towards the reform by deleting the Australian ballot section from the Federal Elections Bill.<sup>20</sup> Even though the Republican county committee in San Francisco had declared its support, William Randolph Hearst's *San Francisco Examiner* editorialized, "Such action . . . cannot change the action of the Republican State Convention . . . because [it] would only secure a



minority of the party. A party is only bound by the action of its State Convention—not individual pledges.”<sup>21</sup>

On the first Monday in October two thousand proponents of the reform attended a rally in San Francisco’s Metropolitan Hall sponsored by the Ballot Reform Club, the Single Tax Association, and the Federated Trades Council. Persons entering the building stopped at a clerk’s table, received a sample ballot, and then marked it in one of a number of voting booths scattered about the room. They also received from members of the Young Men’s Democratic League an illustrated description of the new system. Andrew Furuseth, head of the Seaman’s Union and President of the Federated Trades, served as chairman, with the principal speakers being James Maguire and Thomas V. Cator, a leading Bellamy Nationalist and soon to be the most prominent Populist in the state.<sup>22</sup> Maguire spoke first. Claiming that ballot reform was the most important issue of the campaign, he maintained the Australian ballot would do away with the old system’s most blatant injustices—surveillance of workers by their employers, bribery of voters, and high campaign expenses.

In his turn, Thomas V. Cator declared that local bosses had increased the number of precincts in San Francisco from 178 to 310 in an attempt to ward off reform. Since it took three men to properly supervise each polling place, any “independent” movement would have to muster 930 poll watchers to ensure a fair election. “Where are they to come from? Business men don’t want to stand side by side with the swearing, trading, corrupt tools of the bosses. . . . We have got a chance to down the bosses with the Australian ballot system: let us take advantage of it.”<sup>23</sup>

The publicity campaign was continued a week later by the San Francisco *Examiner*, which printed a five column feature on the reform. The article related the problems faced by a fictional character, John Smith, in running for public office. After leaving his party in disgust at the way the primary election was conducted, Smith joined the independent “Kickers Anti-Boss League.” The League persuaded him to try for office on the Kickers’ ticket, but then assessed him an amount greater than his anticipated salary in order to finance the printing and distribution of tickets and the hiring of poll watchers. On election day, Smith discovered the opposition had colonized three hundred men in his district and bought off his ticket peddlers. He lost the election by a margin of ten to one. The article concluded by suggesting that the remedy for these abuses lay in taking the election machinery out of private hands. The state should print and distribute tickets, regulate nominations, as well as supervise more closely the counting of ballots.<sup>24</sup>

Besides educating the public, the reformers pressured candidates of all parties to pledge support for the measure. In October, the secretary of the Federated Trades’ legislative committee asked Republican gubernatorial candidate Henry Markham to make known his position on the question,



stating that "it is our purpose to go into this campaign solely in the interests of the Ballot-Reform Law." In addition, the committee mailed pledge cards to all announced legislative candidates.<sup>25</sup>

The reformers' fundamental strategy of allying with the Democratic Party went awry, however, when at the November election the Democratic majorities in both branches of the legislature were swept away. The Twenty-ninth Session, convening in January, would contain twenty-eight Republicans and twelve Democrats in the Senate; and sixty Republicans, nineteen Democrats, and one American Party member in the Assembly. Nevertheless, by the middle of December, eschewing the position once held that a party is only bound by the action of its state convention, the *Examiner* claimed that twenty-two Republican legislators had pledged to support the Australian ballot. Adding these to the Democrats, there were, reportedly, thirty-three pledged votes in the Assembly, and seventeen in the Senate.<sup>26</sup>

On January 7, 1891, four ballot reform bills were introduced in the Assembly. Six days later, copies of three of them were also presented to the Senate. The bill sponsored by the Federated trades was drafted by James Maguire, after consultation with representatives from the Council and the California Grange. In a quest for bi-partisan support, the measure was introduced by Republican Eugene F. Bert in the Assembly and Democrat D. A. Ostrom in the Senate. The second bill was the work of the Democratic State Central Committee. Every Democratic lawmaker had earlier received a letter from the central committee's chairman, Russell J. Wilson, reminding them of their party's pledge to support the Australian ballot and warning that "certain bills and amendments will be offered with a view to nullify legislation on this subject."<sup>27</sup> Wilson was probably referring to the bill introduced by San Francisco Republican Henry C. Dibble. Dibble was an outspoken critic of the Australian ballot, and many considered his bill, which provided for privately printed party tickets circulated by public officials, only a sop to sooth public sentiment. Finally two more Democrats, G. G. Goucher in the Senate and F. H. Gould in the Assembly, not content with their central committee's act, introduced a measure reportedly patterned after the law in Massachusetts. All four bills were referred to the Committee on Apportionment and Election Laws.<sup>28</sup>

The Federated Trades measure provided for ballots printed at state expense. A candidate for public office could have his name appear on the ballot in one of two ways: by securing the convention endorsement of a party representing three percent of the electorate in the jurisdiction for which the nomination was made; or by filing a nominating petition signed by three percent of the jurisdiction's voters, "provided that one thousand signatures shall be sufficient for the nomination of a candidate to any office in this state." A convention delegate could neither seek himself or aid another

person in obtaining an independent nomination. The ballots contained the names of all legally nominated candidates, arranged alphabetically by office. Ballot paper was to be supplied by the Secretary of State and watermarked with a design kept secret until the day of election. Each ballot contained a numbered stub. The number was noted on a poll list after the elector's name, and detached before the ballot was deposited in the ballot box.<sup>29</sup>

With several exceptions the bill sponsored by the Democratic Central Committee was identical to the Federated Trades measure. In the interests of party regularity, the official Democratic version permitted an elector to vote for all his party's presidential electors by placing just one mark after their political designation. The bill also freed a worker for two hours in order to vote on election day, without "any deduction . . . from his usual salary or wages."<sup>30</sup>

The third reform measure, the Gould-Goucher bill, also made allowance for the Australian ballot and like the others provided for three percent independent nominations. But neither contained safeguards against illegal voting, nor gave workingmen time off on election day. At best it was a general outline which might guide the legislators in the framing of a new law. This was not the case with the Dibble bill. In an attempt to conciliate the old with the new, Dibble proposed a plan featuring the use of privately printed but publically circulated tickets. Each party printed its own tickets which were then turned over to the county clerks for distribution at the polls. If a party received more than ten percent of the vote, it would be reimbursed by the state for printing costs. On election day, the voter was presented with one of every ticket in the field. He retired to a booth, selected his ballot, and, if he desired, scratched and substituted names. Then all ballots were folded and handed to an election official who deposited the one the voter wished to cast in the ballot box. The others were immediately destroyed. Such a system Dibble believed provided complete secrecy and eliminated the thorny problem of determining the eligibility of candidates for places on the official ballot.<sup>31</sup>

In the Senate, the committee on elections began deliberations on the ballot bills on January 28. Under the watchful eye of James Maguire, the committee prepared a substitute which "would have all the best features of the Australian law with such additions as the States using that law have found advisable." On February 4, the substitute was reported to the floor accompanied by the committee's report. It declared that the committee bill remedied several "evils" which had existed in the election system. The bribery of corrupt and needy voters and the intimidation of dependent voters would be prevented by compulsory secret voting. Moreover, it was hoped that the assessment of candidates by nominating conventions would be "reduced to insignificance," once the cause for such assessment—the printing and distribution of tickets—was assumed by the state. Finally, "the blackmailing prac-

tices of 'piece clubs' and other political parasites" would be checked because the names of all legally nominated candidates would appear on one publically printed ballot.<sup>32</sup>

The action of the upper house buoyed up the spirits of the reformers. Quick passage in the Senate appeared probable. As one Los Angeles Republican put it, "we'll pass the Australian Ballot law if it were only to show the gang of Democratic hypocrites who at San Jose howled for Buckley and Ballot Reform, that we keep the pledges we make to the people." However, Senate sentiment in favor of the substitute measure was more apparent than real. It was two weeks before the legislation came up for its first reading, and several more days slipped by before it could be engrossed and printed. Finally, on February 26, the Senate adopted the substitute by a vote of thirty-three to one, and ordered it transmitted immediately to the Assembly.<sup>33</sup>

In the lower house events followed a similar pattern. The four bills which were reported out of committee on February 6 were read for the first time on February 12. They were then placed back in the hopper where, by February 18, they had only advanced to positions 187-190 on the file for second reading. Disturbed that the bills at their current pace would never reach the floor before adjournment, Frank Gould requested that they be placed on special file to be acted upon immediately. The motion, needing a two-thirds majority to pass, lost on a roll call vote, forty-four ayes to thirty noes.<sup>34</sup> Republicans cast all the negative votes. Of San Francisco's eighteen man GOP delegation, half voted against the motion in apparent violation of their county convention's pledge to support the Australian ballot, five voted in favor, and four cast no vote at all.

The newspapers of the state reacted strongly to the dilatory tactics of the Republicans. The Sacramento *Record-Union*, in an editorial entitled "Digging a Republican Grave," claimed that if the Republican Assemblymen and Senators bowed to the will of the bosses, "they will convert themselves into sextons, and may proceed forthwith to the burial of the Republican majority in California." The San Francisco *Call* expressed a similar opinion, while the *Examiner* came to the reluctant conclusion that ballot reform was an unwelcome subject to a majority of legislators.<sup>35</sup>

The legislature soon gave reformers much greater cause for concern. On February 28, California's junior United States Senator, George Hearst, died in Washington. Hearst was barely in his grave before thirteen men rushed to succeed him. With the Republicans holding a three-fourths majority, it was clear the choice would be made from the GOP. After the first ballot on March 10, party wheelhorse Morris M. Estee along with San Francisco publisher Charles DeYoung were deadlocked for the lead. A week passed without a break. Then on March 17, Henry Dibble withdrew DeYoung's name from consideration and threw his support to ex-Congressman Charles Felton,

who moved into second place with thirty-eight votes behind Estee's forty-five. Estee, in the meantime, had turned up evidence—in the form of money wrappers discarded in a wastebasket in the State Library—which he thought proved that Henry Dibble was about to bribe fourteen legislators to vote for Felton. However, before Estee could put his findings to proper use, Martin Kelly, San Francisco saloon boss and a supporter of Felton, promised sixteen assemblymen \$1,000 apiece to switch to Felton.<sup>36</sup> Two days later Felton was elected with a majority of seventy-two votes out of the 118 cast.<sup>37</sup>

The wastebasket affair came hard on the heels of another scandal involving the acceptance of a \$400 bribe by Assemblyman Elwood Bruner. The San Francisco *Examiner* on March 5, had carried an expose accusing Bruner of taking the money in return for using his influence to obtain a position for one Thomas Stoley on the city's police force. An investigation was demanded which resulted in a majority report finding Bruner guilty, but recommending leniency, and a minority report finding him not guilty, but urging a reprimand for exposing the Assembly to "scandalous and humiliating" charges. The Senate, serving as a jury, found Bruner not guilty.<sup>38</sup>

The wastebasket affair and the whitewash of the Bruner scandal, along with rumored payoffs in the re-election of Leland Stanford to the U. S. Senate, led the twenty-ninth session to be dubbed "the legislature of a thousand scandals." In the spirit of this appellation, the Assembly continued its snail's paced deliberation of the ballot reform bills, which now included the Senate substitute. On Thursday, February 26, Dibble moved that all the reform bills be made a special order for the following Monday. On Monday and Tuesday, the substitute was read for the first and second time. Then began a week of prolonged debate and intensive maneuvering as friends and opponents of the reform prepared for the final vote.<sup>39</sup>

On March 3, the *Examiner* reported that thirty-eight Assemblymen were certain to vote for the substitute. These included seventeen of the nineteen Democrats along with twenty-one Republicans. To obtain the three additional votes needed to pass the measure, lobbyists for the Federated Trades and the Grange sent circulars to all the members who were pledged to support the Australian ballot. These included nineteen of the twenty members from San Francisco,<sup>40</sup> eleven of whom had not yet committed themselves to back the substitute bill. Dibble countered by threatening Federated Trades lobbyist Eugene Hough with arrest on felony charges of intimidation if he did not stop reminding the legislators that they had promised to vote for ballot reform. Then ridiculing what they regarded as the unwieldiness of the ballot, Dibble and his cohorts distributed an alleged sample Australian ballot which was three feet long and eighteen inches wide.<sup>41</sup>

When the bill came up for its final reading on March 6, Dibble once again led the attack. In a speech on the Assembly floor, he declared that the

Australian ballot would change essential features of the American political system. Nomination by petition was calculated to destroy the two major parties which were the basis of American government, and would result in political anarchy. In responding to Dibble's charges, T. W. H. Shanahan, the Democratic floor leader, noted that in the state only one newspaper<sup>42</sup> and a few Assemblymen opposed the reform. The changes it would effect were not revolutionary, but progressive. The Australian ballot was the "grand consummation" of the evolution of voting practices in California. Furthermore, nominating conventions in large cities resulted in conspiracies between bosses who supported each other and even shared the same ward-strikers at the primaries. Independent nominations were intended to rob the boss of his monopoly over the selection of candidates.<sup>43</sup>

The debate continued the following day. Elwood Bruner declared that anyone who had signed a pledge to support the Australian ballot was now absolved from it, because the substitute bill was merely a modification of a Massachusetts law. The deliberations sank to a still lower level in an exchange between Republican J. R. Matlock and Democrat Charles S. Arms. In response to Matlock's contention that he would never vote for the Australian ballot, Arms produced a Federated Trades pledge card, signed by Matlock, declaring support for just such a bill. Matlock, taken by surprise, admitted signing the pledge, but claimed he had in a letter "modified the obligation." When Assemblyman George B. Robertson of Del Norte and Siskiyou asked whether he was in the habit of modifying promises, Matlock replied that he kept his promises to Republicans, but not to Democrats. Shanahan then abruptly terminated the proceedings by demanding a call of the house which revealed that only fifty-seven of eighty Assemblymen were on the floor. Fourteen of the missing members were absent without leave, of whom ten were San Francisco Republicans. In an attempt to track down the truants, Shanahan moved that the Sergeant-at-Arms, who was visiting in the bay area, be ordered to meet the incoming Sacramento trains in Oakland and arrest and return to the capital any Assemblymen found upon them. The motion was defeated. Then after an unsuccessful attempt by Dibble and Bruner to bring the main question to a vote, the Assembly adjourned.<sup>44</sup>

Although the contending sides appeared to be stalemated, time was on the reformers' side. The proponents of the Senate substitute needed the votes of the San Francisco Republicans who had been pledged by their county convention to support the Australian ballot. By their absence, however, ten of the city's Republicans had proved themselves to be most reluctant champions. Dibble's strategy was to send enough of the San Franciscans away as to deny the reformers the forty-one votes needed to pass the substitute. When the substitute was voted down, Dibble then would have placed his own bill on special order for the following Monday, brought back his city colleagues, and attempted passage on the grounds that the public was expecting some



type of ballot legislation. His plan misfired, however, when Shanahan, by one vote, blocked his attempt to bring the question to the floor. According to Shanahan, "in that way we carried the matter over till Monday when the senatorial fight and public opinion brought the absentees back."<sup>45</sup>

When the legislature met next on Monday, March 9, eleven of the missing Assemblymen were back in their seats, and Dibble conceded he could no longer block passage. The Republican floor leader was down, but not out. Reaffirming his undying opposition to the measure, he claimed, perhaps tongue in cheek, that should the bill pass unamended, the citizens of the state would praise him for his opposition. However, for the sake of the people and his party, Dibble begged leave to make several changes. T. W. H. Shanahan, distrustful of Dibble's newly found magnanimity, demanded the opposition's promise to recede from the amendments, should the Senate refuse to accept them. This was apparently agreed to and Shanahan, perhaps not wishing to press his luck, made no further objection to the proposed changes.

Dibble's amendments were offered with the purpose of solidifying the position of the two major parties. They changed the number of signatures needed for independent nomination of state officials from three to five percent, thereby greatly increasing the difficulty of nomination by petition, and provided that an elector need only mark the first name in a party's list of presidential electors to indicate his support for all. With these amendments attached, the bill passed the Assembly by a vote of sixty-six to three. Two days later the Senate concurred, and the bill was signed into law by Governor Henry H. Markham.<sup>46</sup>

Most parts of the Senate substitute were copies of the bills sponsored by the Federated Trades and the Democratic Central Committee. Besides the Dibble amendments, there was only one other significant difference between final revision of the code and the bill written by James Maguire. Again it was in the interests of party regularity. Under the new law, the names of all parties which nominated candidates by convention appeared at the top of the ballot. A voter wishing to cast a straight party ticket made a single mark opposite the name of his party.<sup>47</sup>

The Australian ballot did not fulfill all the high expectations of its advocates. By eliminating piece clubs and the traffic in votes on election day, it delivered only a glancing blow to the armor of the political boss. By his organization's ability to dominate both public and party officials who, in turn, controlled nominating and election machinery, the boss could easily outflank the reformer's Australian ballot redoubt. Even though Christopher Buckley fled the city in 1891 to escape a grand jury indictment, San Francisco had a series of political strongmen in the next few years, including Republican Colonel Dan Burns; Gavin McNab, the Democratic "easy boss"; and Abraham Ruef, leader of the Union Labor Party.<sup>48</sup>

Nevertheless, the movement for the Australian ballot in California was the opening round of a twenty year campaign for election reform which had impressive results. In 1893, a corrupt practices act regulating political expenditures was placed on the statute books. In 1901, a comprehensive bill regulating the selection of delegates to nominating conventions at "intermediary" primary elections was signed into law. Eight years later, in 1909, the nominating convention was abolished by the substitution of the direct primary election. In 1911, the legislature added to the ballot a preferential vote for United States Senators, and submitted constitutional amendments to the people calling for women's suffrage, and providing for the initiative, referendum and recall. Finally, in 1913, the Progressives, in their passion for non-partisan politics, secured passage of cross-filing provisions, allowing candidates to run in the primaries of parties to which they did not belong.

In the past, historians writing about California have considered the 1890's to be a high point of machine domination, a time when the Southern Pacific attempted to "name and control virtually every political office. . . ."<sup>49</sup> While few would deny the power of the railroad as a manipulator and debaser of politics, the pervasiveness of this theme has generally caused writers to ignore the considerable accomplishments of the state's election reformers in the 1890's. Certainly no era is ever completely given over to wrong doing; where there is corruption there is also reform, they exist together. The early 1890's was a time when workers and farmers had not yet fully accepted the idea that they were mutually exclusive interest groups. Consequently, the campaign for the Australian ballot in California was a rare example of effective cooperation between *fin de siècle* farmers and laborers for much needed political reform.

#### NOTES

1. L. E. Fredman, *The Australian Ballot: The Story of an American Reform* (East Lansing, 1968), 3-9. Fredman's account is the most thorough study of the nationwide movement for the Australian ballot. However, he devotes only one page to the passage of the measure in California.

2. San Francisco *Bulletin*, Sept. 29, 1877.

3. In his desire to have his name widely circulated, a candidate would sometimes appear on tickets representing parties hotly opposed to each other. In 1886, former United States Senator Cornelius Cole wrote of his son, Willoughby, a fledgling politician, "it might seem strange if he were on the Pixley-American ticket [a nativist slate] and on the O'Donnell-Irish ticket both, and yet I would not wonder to see that on the day of election. Politics makes strange bedfellows; strange combinations sometimes." Cole to Olive Cole, Oct. 26, 1886, Cornelius Cole Papers, Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

4. San Francisco *Bulletin*, Aug. 23, 1877; Los Angeles *Herald*, Oct. 24, 1886.

5. Henry George, "Money in Elections," *North American Review*, CXXXV (1883), 201-211; Charles A. Barker, *Henry George* (New York, 1955), 536.

6. J. J. McCook, "The Alarming Proportion of Venal Voters," *The Forum*, XIV (1892), 1; Allen Thorndike Rice, "Recent Reforms in Balloting," *The North American Review*, CXVIII (1886), 628-642.

7. Despite the fact that it was a matter of considerable contemporary interest, standard college textbooks in California History, such as John W. Caughey, *California* (2nd ed., Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1953); Andrew F. Rolle, *California* (New York, 1963); Ralph J. Roske, *Everyman's Eden: A History of California* (New York, 1968); and Walton Bean, *California: An Interpretive History* (New York, 1968), make no mention of the passage of the Australian ballot.

8. Franklin Hichborn, "California Politics, 1891-1939," p. 141, a typescript contained in the John R. Haynes Papers, Library, University of California, Los Angeles; Barker, *Henry George*, 244, 605. James G. Maguire was a judge of the Superior Court of San Francisco. In 1892, with labor support, he was elected to the first of three consecutive terms in the House of Representatives where he advocated George's single-tax theories. In 1898, he was the Democratic candidate for governor. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1961* (Washington, D. C., 1961), 1254.

9. Anne W. Lane and Louise Herrick Wall, eds., *The Letters of Franklin K. Lane* (Boston, 1922), 17-18.

10. John H. Wigmore, *The Australian Ballot System as Embodied in the Legislation of Various Countries* (2nd ed.; Boston, 1889), 203, iii.

11. Lane to Wigmore, Sept. 20, 1888 and Feb. 17, 1889, in Lane and Wall, eds., *The Letters of Franklin K. Lane*, 20, 22-23.

12. Ira Cross, *History of the Labor Movement in California* (Berkeley, 1935), 177, 204; *Fifth Biennial Report, California Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1891-1892* (Sacramento, 1893), 40.

13. Lane and Wall, eds., *The Letters of Franklin K. Lane*, 22; *Sacramento Record-Union*, Feb. 5 and Mar. 1, 1889.

14. They were AB 153, introduced by John Davis of Placer; AB 199, by D. A. Ostrom of Yuba and Sutter; and AB 233 and 579, by E. C. Tully of San Benito.

15. *Journal of the Assembly of the State of California* (hereafter cited as *JA*), 28 sess., 1889, pp. 493, 612, 648, 680-681, 701; Wigmore, *The Australian Ballot System*, 42-43.

16. Joseph B. Bishop, "The Secret Ballot in Thirty-three States," 592; Wigmore, *The Australian Ballot System*, 42.

17. Lane to Wigmore, Feb. 17, 1889, in Lane and Wall, eds., *The Letters of Franklin K. Lane*, 23; *Sacramento Record-Union*, Mar. 6, 1889.

18. Bishop, "The Australian Ballot in Thirty-three States," 592; Edith Dobie, *The Political Career of Stephen Mallory White* (Stanford, 1927), 126; Winfield Davis, *History of Political Conventions* (Sacramento, 1893), 267.

19. *San Francisco Examiner*, Sept. 6 and 13, 1890; *San Francisco Call*, Sept. 13, 1890.

20. The statement conveniently neglected to mention that the so-called Force Bill had been killed in the Senate by a coalition made up mostly of Democrats. See, Harold U. Faulkner, *Politics, Reform and Expansion* (New York, 1959), 110-111.

21. *San Francisco Examiner*, Sept. 29, 1890.

22. Fuhrman's career is treated in Cross, *History of the Labor Movement in California*; Cator's in Harold E. Taggart, "Thomas Vincent Cator," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXVII (1948), 311-318 and XXVIII (1949), 47-55.

23. San Francisco *Examiner*, San Francisco *Call*, and San Francisco *Bulletin*, Oct. 7, 1890.
24. San Francisco *Examiner*, Oct. 13, 1890.
25. E. W. Thurman to Markham, Oct. 17, 1890, Henry H. Markham Papers, Huntington Library; San Francisco *Call*, Oct. 25, 1890.
26. *California Blue Book*, 1915 (Sacramento, 1915), 241, San Francisco *Examiner*, Dec. 22, 1890. It was rumored that Buckley in league with Democratic Senator George Hearst, had cooperated with the Republicans. The alleged strategy called for Buckley and Hearst to help the GOP win control of the legislature so that Republican Leland Stanford might be re-elected to the Senate. Stanford, so the story ran, would return the favor in 1893, when Hearst was up for re-election. Democrat Stephen M. White, who was running very hard for Stanford's senate seat considered the rumor to have some validity. But he placed primary cause for the Democrat's defeat on "the tremendous amount of money which Stanford put into the contest which snowed us everywhere." That the results were unusual is testified to by the fact that nominally Democratic San Francisco sent an Assembly delegation to Sacramento composed of eighteen Republicans and two Democrats. Dobie, *The Political Career of Stephen Mallory White*, 106, 124; White to W. J. Tinnin, Nov. 14, 1890 and White to A. F. Jones, Nov. 19, 1890, Stephen M. White Papers, Stanford University Library.
27. San Francisco *Examiner*, Dec. 20, 1890; San Francisco *Alta California*, Jan. 7, 1891.
28. The Federated Trades measure or Bert-Ostrom bill was introduced as AB 29 in the Assembly, and probably in the Senate as SB 123 (the state archives reports SB 123 as missing, so a comparison of the two bills is impossible, however the titles are identical); the Democratic central committee's Arms-Britt bill as AB 3, SB 8; Dibble's bill as AB 2; and the Gould-Goucher bill as AB 27, SB 57. *JA*, 29 sess., 1891, pp. 30, 32; *Journal of the Senate of the State of California* (hereafter cited as *JS*), 29 sess., 1891, pp. 33, 39, 45.
29. These safeguards were aimed at preventing the "Tasmanian Dodge." This was a procedure whereby a party manager sent the first of his henchmen into a polling place to vote a blank piece of paper and bring out the real ballot. The manager then marked the ballot and paid a second person to vote it and bring out another unmarked ballot. The process was then repeated. See, Fredman, *The Australian Ballot*, 10, 50. A copy of AB 29 is found in Drawer 2003, Legislative Bill File Record Group (hereafter cited as DR 2003 LBFRG), California State Archives.
30. AB 3, 1891, DR 2003, LBFRG; San Francisco *Examiner*, Jan. 11, 1891.
31. AB 27 and AB 2, 1891, DR 2003, LBFRG; San Francisco *Alta California*, Jan. 8, 1891.
32. San Francisco *Call*, Jan. 29, 1891; *JS*, 29 sess., 1891, pp. 279-280; San Francisco *Examiner*, Feb. 5, 1891.
33. *JS*, 29 sess., 1891, pp. 427, 454, 478-479, 521; Sacramento *Record-Union*, Feb. 13, 1891; San Francisco *Call*, Feb. 8 and 25, 1891.
34. *JA*, 29 sess., 1891, pp. 466-467; San Francisco *Examiner*, San Francisco *Call*, Sacramento *Record-Union*, Feb. 20, 1891.
35. Sacramento *Record-Union*, Feb. 26, 1891; San Francisco *Call*, Feb. 21, 1891; San Francisco *Examiner*, Feb. 26, 1891.
36. Martin Kelly, writing twenty-six years after the fact, claimed that the money in question was not to be used as bribes to gain support for Felton, but rather was used as a

payoff to legislators who had sold their vote to the Western Union Telegraph Company to defeat a bill the company regarded against its interests. Martin Kelly, "Martin Kelly's Story," ed., James H. Wilkins, *San Francisco Bulletin*, Sept. 17, 1917. See also Alexander Callow, "The Legislature of a Thousand Scandals," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, XXXIX (1957), 342-344.

37. *JS*, 29 sess., 1891, pp. 701, 773-774, 806.

38. *San Francisco Examiner*, Mar. 5, 1891; Callow, "The Legislature of a Thousand Scandals," 344-346.

39. *JA*, 29 sess., 1891, pp. 574, 616, 635.

40. Henry Dibble had denounced the San Francisco County Republican convention's pledge to support ballot reform.

41. *San Francisco Examiner*, Mar. 3 and 4, 1891.

42. The opposition newspaper was the *San Francisco Chronicle* published by Michael DeYoung. Its support of Dibble might have been a return favor for Dibble's management of DeYoung's brief Senatorial campaign.

43. *San Francisco Examiner*, Mar. 7, 1891.

44. *JA*, 29 sess., 1891, pp. 677-678, 681-682; *San Francisco Examiner*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Sacramento Record-Union*, Mar. 8, 1891.

45. T. W. H. Shanahan to Stephen M. White, Mar. 15, 1891, White papers.

46. *JA*, 29 sess., 1891, pp. 685-687, 696-697; *JS*, 29 sess., 1891, pp. 702-703; *San Francisco Examiner*, *Sacramento Record-Union*, Mar. 9, 1891; *Los Angeles Times*, *San Francisco Alta California*, Mar. 12, 1891.

47. *Statutes of California, 1891*, 165-178. Referring to this last provision, one eastern reformer described it as "unjust discrimination . . . against independent candidates. . . . This law is an excellent illustration of the kind of statute which tricky politicians consent to have enacted when they desire to bring into contempt the reform which it professes to embody." The state Supreme Court apparently agreed, for a year later the provision was declared unconstitutional because it "destroys the just, and equal, and uniform operation" of the election law. Bishop, "The Secret Ballot in Thirty-three States," 596; *Eaton v. Brown* (1892), 96 Cal 371.

48. Dan Burns was a mining speculator and former state Secretary of State. He managed Governor Henry H. Markham's election campaign in 1890 and Morris M. Estee's unsuccessful campaign in 1894. In the latter year he controlled every vote in the 164 man San Francisco delegation to the Republican state convention. Gavin McNab gradually assumed power in San Francisco Democratic organization after the fall of Buckley. He earned his nickname because of his support of reform mayor James D. Phelan in the latter 1890's. Eric F. Petersen, "End of an Era: California's Gubernatorial Election of 1894," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXXVIII (1969), 146; John P. Young, *San Francisco: A History of the Pacific Coast Metropolis*, II (San Francisco, n.d.), 706; *San Francisco Examiner*, Aug. 10, 1899.

49. Spencer Olin, *California's Prodigal Sons: Hiram Johnson and the Progressives, 1911-1917* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968), 2. See also George Mowry, *The California Progressives* (Berkeley, 1951), 16-20; and Matthew Josephson, *The Robber Barons* (New York, 1934), 228.

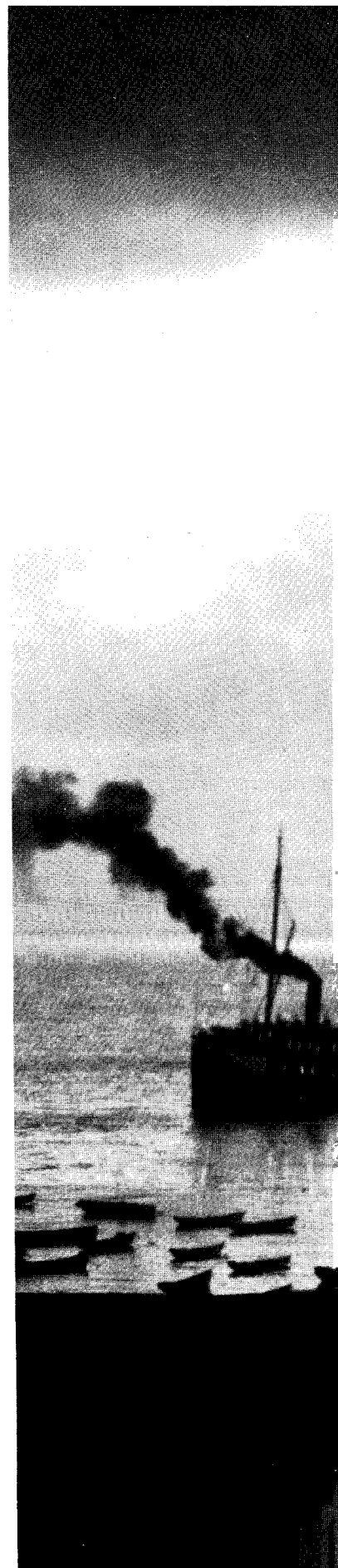


# This island Santa Catalina was a jewel in the sea...

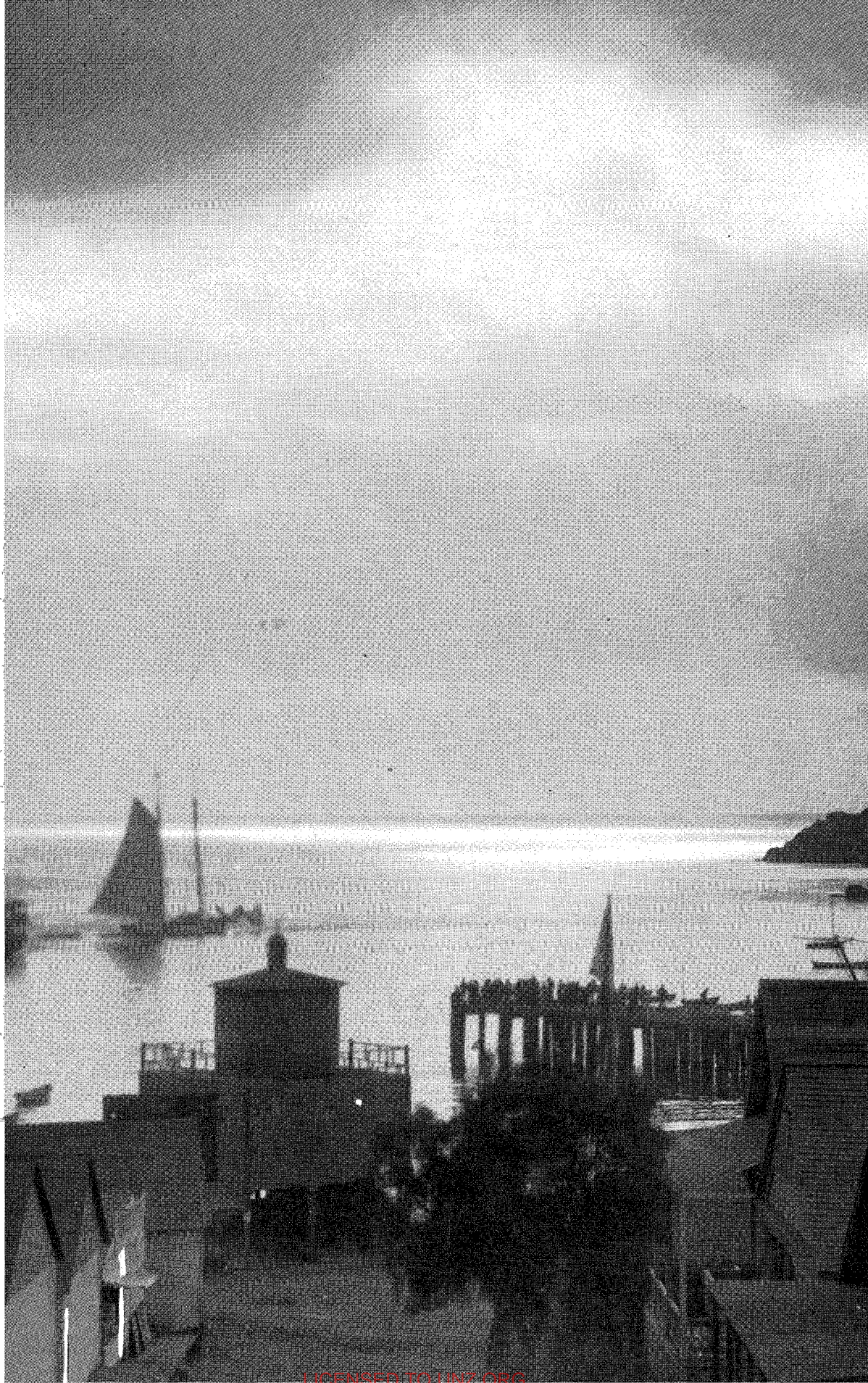
by Robert A. Weinstein

**N**OT VERY MANY Southern Californians took vacations in the late 1800's. An affluent middle class had not yet emerged and vacationing was largely the privilege of the wealthy. Although the resorts of Southern California were exclusive the best of them, La Jolla, Santa Barbara and Del Mar, were so well known they enjoyed national fame. They were patronized in the winter by the same people who enjoyed Bar Harbor, Saratoga and Newport, Rhode Island in the sweltering Eastern summers.

Relaxation was required for workmen and storekeepers as well and, while there were no jet planes, package tours to far away places or "fly-now, pay-later" plans, picnics and buggy rides were popular. There were no Hawaii's readily available then and a tour of the world was unthinkable for most people. For the late nineteenth-century Southern Californian the world was small and the sea offered tem-







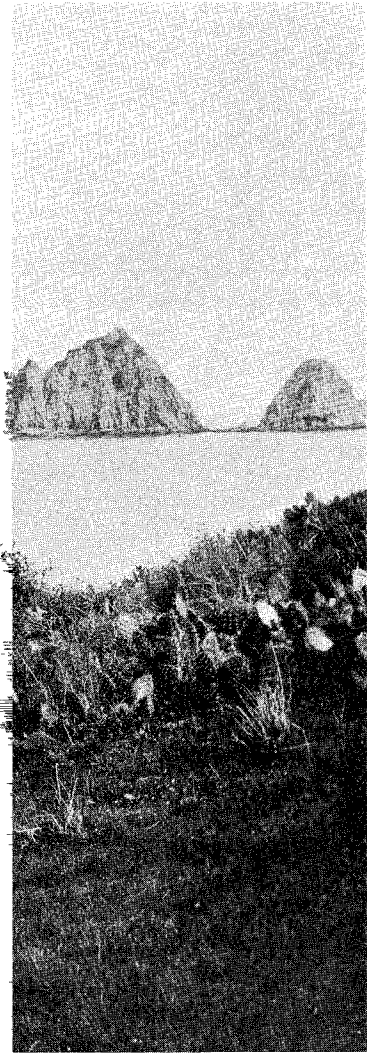




porary escape. The Pacific's restless waters provided the sea-borne traveler with a salutary dash of salt air, ocean wind, and frightening fog. Best of all, this oceanic world offered a chain of offshore islands, some easily approached by boat. Of the five islands, the chief jewel was Santa Catalina, a scant 21 sea miles southwest of Los Angeles' seaport, San Pedro.

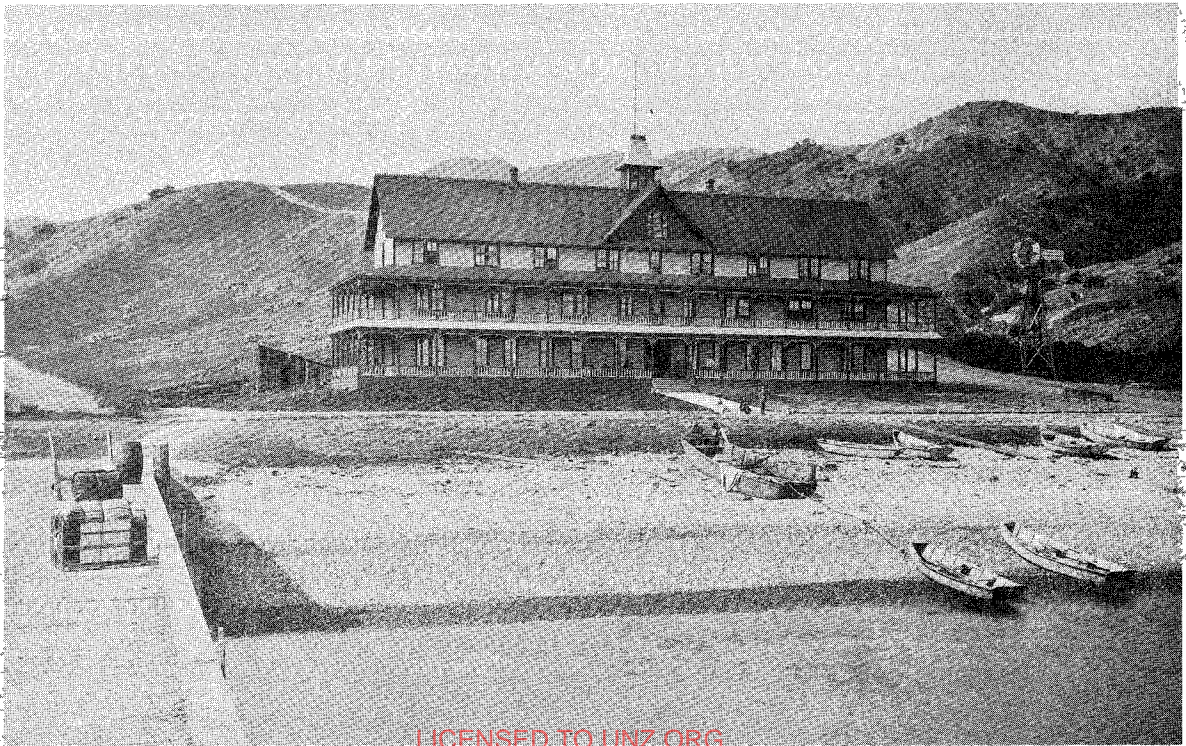
Catalina's vacationland potential for Southern California was not long overlooked. Affording a natural lee from Pacific gales, the island had a history of random uses by Yankee shipmasters, Mexican smugglers, sheep-owning farmers and itinerant adventurers. Regular sea traffic with the mainland was established in 1886 by the Bannings to assure a clientele for the island's first inn, The Metropole Hotel, built by George R. Shatto in the island cove called Avalon. The hotel attracted further building activity that soon transformed the little cove into a





*Isolated in beauty, host to infrequent visitors, the tiny shelving cove at Avalon Harbor offered shelter and a safe anchorage for passing seamen and visiting Southland yachtsmen.*

*Magnificent in lonely splendor, George R. Shatto's Metropole Hotel at Avalon promised and delivered, first-rate ocean fishing from rowboats, unforgettable sunrises and sunsets, clean sea air and quiet rest for the weary.*

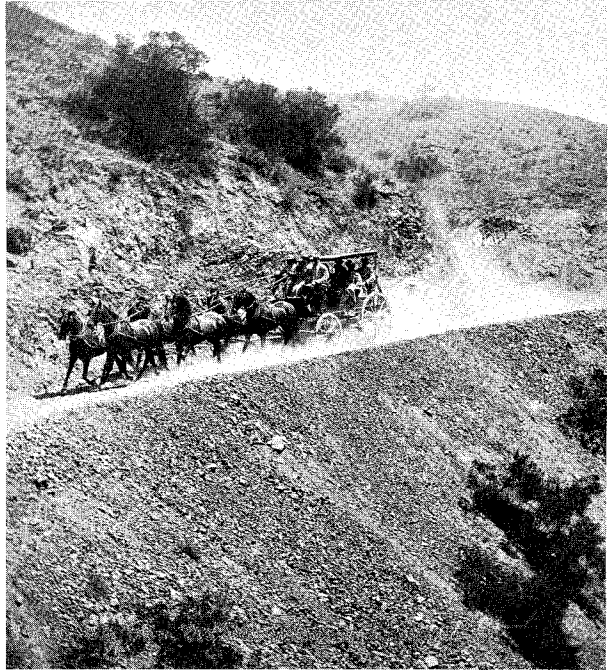






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*Six husky horses and a jolting stagecoach offered bone-breaking glimpses of wooded hills and brush-covered valleys to the determined visitor.*

budding island village. Entertainment for visitors then was rugged. It consisted mainly of hiking over the island hills, swimming, sailing, fishing, boar hunting and primitive camping. The island's popularity grew as an accessible, inexpensive resort, and visitors multiplied rapidly. They came in private sailboats and finally in steam tugs chartered for that purpose.

To shelter and entertain the growing throngs of tourists, promoters rapidly developed the island's resources. They organized a tiny city at Avalon, a city of tents and rustic pleasures. They climbed towering Sugar Loaf Rock and built an observation platform on its crest, a lookout point reached by climbing more than a hundred rickety wooden steps. They built roads over the hills and brought a stage coach and horses to the island to tour the dusty roads. They built wharves, piers, bath houses and boardwalks and even specially designed glass-bottomed boats to explore the "submarine gardens." They built larger ships to bring more tourists,

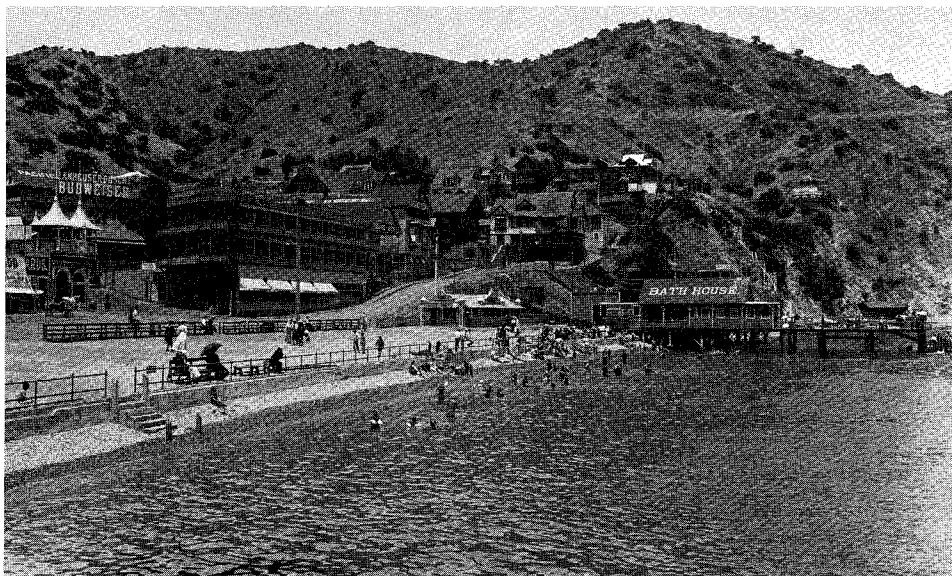


*The sea-visitors mecca  
was Tent City at Avalon.  
Dependably drafty, dusty  
and utterly lacking in  
any kind of privacy  
it loomed in popular  
esteem as a wonderfully  
permissive local island paradise.*

more comfortably to Avalon's hilly beauty. The village grew, spreading back up into the hills, climbing the encircling slopes of the bay.

As Los Angeles grew, so did the fame of Avalon, of Catalina. It became the poor man's South Sea island. A trip across the Catalina Channel on the Great White Steamer was fashioned into legend and no visit to Southern California was considered complete without it. As fashions changed, the rustic pleasures of Catalina gave way to more sophisticated ones and dance pavilions and name bands became solid attractions. Yachtsmen sailed for Avalon and the Isthmus as bees fly to a hive, and as Los Angeles burst into the mid-twentieth century, the once-lonely, shelving cove at Avalon on Catalina Island had become a prosperous model of a Southern California beach resort.





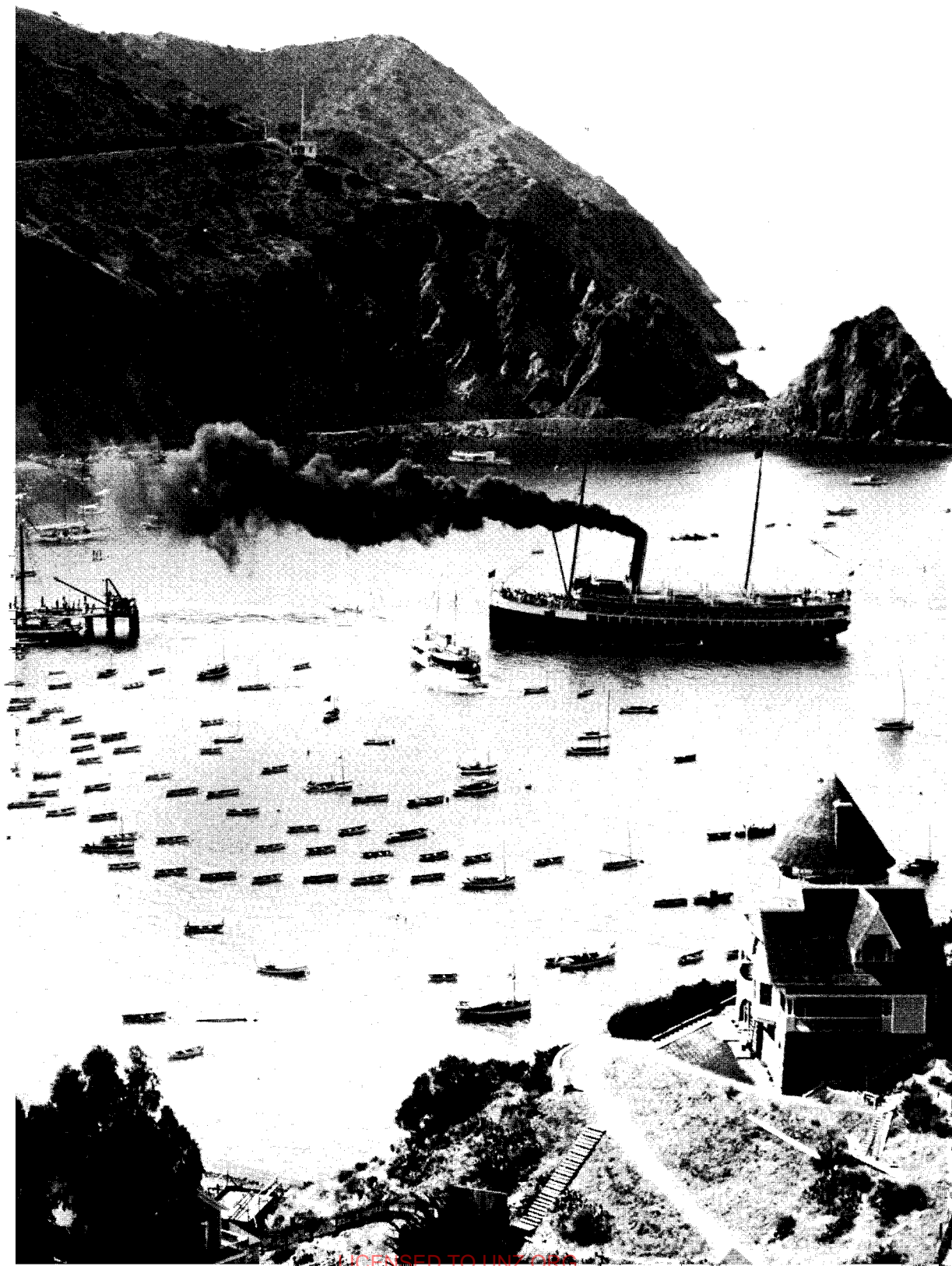
*Southern California's competitor to Atlantic City's renowned boardwalk was the beach strand at Avalon. This "place," wide, smooth and naked to the hot sun suited almost every taste from exercise to quick romance.*



*The Great White Steamers brought eager passengers and assorted jazz lovers impatient to listen and dance to the music of Guy Lombardo, Benny Goodman and other legendary name bands at Avalon's famous Casino*



a jewel in the sea...



*Donald A. Nuttall*

*Associate Professor of History at  
Whittier College, Whittier; honor-  
able mention winner of the 1971  
California History Prize with the  
following study.*

## The Gobernantes of Spanish Upper California: A Profile

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FOR FIFTY-TWO YEARS Spain confronted the problems of controlling and developing the isolated frontier province of Upper California, and considering the difficulties involved she met with substantial success. The years following the colonizing expedition of 1769-1770 witnessed a strengthening of her precarious hold on the region, and its material advance was gradual but steady. By the time the province was wrested from her grasp by Mexico's independence movement of 1821 its landscape was dotted with presidios, missions, and pueblos, and the Hispanic flavor which still pervades the State was deeply implanted in its soil.

Contributors to Spain's success in Upper California were numerous. Failure may well have come early had it not been for high officials such as Visitor General José de Gálvez and Viceroy Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa. The devoted work of the Franciscan father presidents, most notably Junípero Serra and Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, and the more than one hundred friars who served under them was vital. Nor can one overlook the indispensable sacrifices and service of the military.

None, however, was more essential to Spain's Upper California enterprise than the *gobernantes*<sup>1</sup> who were given direct responsibility for the area's affairs. And in filling that critical office the crown chose well; the performances of the nine men who ruled the province were almost invariably respectable, and some were highly commendable.

Rather than being fortuitous, this circumstance reflected the proper selection of personnel. This being the case, one's curiosity leads him to wonder as to the kind of individual the king sought for the position; what, in other words, were the requisite professional and personal qualifications? Contemplation of the matter soon produces a possible solution: that the question might well be answered by drawing a profile of the typical Upper California *gobernante*, the pen being guided by collective data gleaned from records of the incumbents' backgrounds and careers. The belief that such a project



would provide that service prompted the present writer to undertake it, the results of which appear below.

When completed, the profile may also be utilized for purposes of a comparative study which would be both enlightening and interesting. Although local differences existed, Upper California and the other provinces of New Spain's northern frontier shared certain characteristics—the foremost being isolation and security threats from hostile Indians and foreign intruders—and it can be assumed that responsibility for dealing with such common problems would be entrusted to men with similar backgrounds and capabilities. To test the assumption one could trace a like profile of another of the frontier provinces, such as New Mexico. It is this writer's view that in most basic respects it would conform closely with that which follows.

Upper California's *gobernante* was invariably a military officer. That this was true simply evidences the fact a professional soldier was necessary to guide the affairs of a province which was chronically faced with the threat of attack from within or without.

Upper California's ruler was almost as certainly a *peninsular*—a full-blooded Spaniard born in Spain—for his office, as were virtually all political positions in the Spanish Indies, was reserved to members of that class.<sup>2</sup> *Peninsulares*, in fact, governed the province for forty-eight of the fifty-two years of its Spanish period. The exceptions were Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, who served as military commandant from 1774-1777, and José Darío Argüello, who upon the death of José Joaquín de Arrillaga in 1814 acted as governor *ad interim* until replaced about a year later by Pablo Vicente de Solá, another *peninsular*. Rivera y Moncada and Argüello probably were *criollos*—full-blooded Spaniards born in the New World.

Moreover, Upper California's political head was likely to be a Basque or a Catalan, for this was true with five of the incumbents. More striking is the fact that natives of those two regions controlled the province for forty-one of its fifty-two Spanish years. The Catalan portion—thirteen years—came early: Gaspar de Portolá and Pedro Fages ruled from 1769-1774, and Fages returned to govern from 1782-1791. The Basque domination came later but is more impressive. With the exception of Argüello's one year tenure, Basques held the Upper California governorship for the final twenty-nine years of the Spanish period: Arrillaga, 1792-1794 and 1800-1814; Diego de Borica, 1794-1800; and Solá, 1815-1822. Upper California's government, one might well conclude, had become the possession of a veritable Basque dynasty. The remaining six years of *peninsular* rule were shared by the kingdoms of Andalusia and Valencia, represented by Felipe de Neve, 1777-1782 and José Antonio Roméu, 1791-1792, respectively.

With but one probable exception, Upper California's *gobernantes* enjoyed noble status. Borica and Solá identified themselves as "hidalgo," while most of the others simply indicated "noble." Neve provides a problem in this re-

spect, for he consistently wrote no more than "conocida," or "known," in the appropriate part of his service record, but in view of his rise within Spain's colonial system it is difficult to believe that he was other than high-born. If this conclusion is correct, Rivera y Moncada remains as the sole Upper California ruler of common origin.

Upper California's *gobernante* most likely had begun his military career in Spain, for this was true of five of the men: Portolá, Neve, Fages, Borica, and Roméu. The other four had enrolled in New Spain. It is apparent, therefore, that peninsula-born Arrillaga and Solá traveled to the New World with civilian status.

Typically, he had entered the army as a young man, most probably in his early or mid-twenties. The extremes were Portolá, who began his soldiering at the precociously early age of sixteen, and Solá, who delayed until his thirty-fourth or thirty-fifth year.

His initial rank likely was that of a junior officer, for most had begun as a cadet, an *alférez*, or a sub-lieutenant. The exceptions were Solá, whose first commission was that of a militia captain, and Argüello and Arrillaga, who enlisted as common soldiers.

If his military career had been inaugurated in Europe, the odds favored his having come to New Spain after having served five years or less, this being the case with three of the five men: Fages, Borica, and Roméu. This experience-pattern, however, was most irregular, since Portolá and Neve remained in the Old World for thirty and twenty years respectively before making the trans-Atlantic voyage.

Uniformity is restored, however, when the times of their transfers to the New World are considered. Portolá, Neve, Borica, and Roméu all came to New Spain in 1764, as members of a military reinforcement of the viceroyalty following the Seven Years' War. Fages arrived in 1767 with a Catalan Volunteer Company destined to join Colonel Domingo Elizondo's expedition against Sonora's rebellious Indians. Five of Upper California's *gobernantes*, therefore, began their American careers within a three year period.

Upper California's ruler most commonly had risen to the rank of lieutenant colonel by the time he assumed office. The exceptions were Portolá, when named commander of the colonizing expedition, Fages and Rivera y Moncada, when granted the lesser position of military commandant, and Arrillaga and Argüello, upon becoming governor *ad interim*. All were captains, save Fages, who was a lieutenant. Fages and Arrillaga, however were lieutenant colonels when named governor. With the exception of Roméu, whose premature death precluded such action, all those formally awarded the governorship were promoted to colonel while in office.

He was also likely to be in his fiftieth year at the outset of his rule, for that was the average age. Argüello's sixty years made him the eldest, while Fages, who was only forty when designated military commandant, was the young-

est. The latter, however, was fifty-two when he ascended to the governorship.

The man, as the rank and age suggest, customarily brought considerable experience to his new office. The average length of military service had been twenty-six years, and that figure was exceeded in six instances. The range was from Argüello's forty-two years to Fages' eight at the time he was named military commandant. The latter's lack of experience, combined with his relative youth, may explain the difficulties he encountered during his first Upper California rule. He was, however, a twenty year veteran when appointed governor, and this was reflected in his more creditable performance in that capacity.

The background of Upper California's *gobernante* invariably included exposure to combat. Three of the men had campaigned in Europe: Portolá had been wounded in Italy during the War of the Austrian Succession and had participated in Spain's invasion of Portugal in the course of the Seven Years' War, while Neve and Fages had also taken part in the latter campaign. More commonly, however, his soldiering had been against frontier Indian adversaries: Fages had served in Elizondo's expedition, had fought Apaches in Sonora, and had commanded the force sent to chastise the Yumas after their destruction of the Spanish settlements on the Colorado River; Roméu had led the Colorado River expedition during its latter stages, and had faced rebellious natives in Durango and Sonora; Borica had campaigned against Apaches in New Mexico and other parts of the *Provincias Internas*; and Arrillaga and Argüello likewise had seen action on the northern frontier. Solá had experienced a type of combat shared by none of the others, for evidence indicates that he played a role in quelling the insurgent movement initiated in New Spain by Father Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla's "Grito de Dolores" of 1810.

Upper California's ruler also possessed administrative experience upon entering his new position. Portolá had served as governor of Lower California from 1767-1769, and Rivera y Moncada had held the same position under Jesuit supervision for a more prolonged period of time. Neve had been adjutant major of military units in Spain, sergeant major of the Provincial Cavalry Regiment of Querétaro in New Spain from 1765-1774, and administrator of the Jesuit temporalities in Zacatecas from 1767-1774. By the time he was named governor, Fages had commanded a Catalan Volunteer Company for many years and had been commandant of presidios Santa Cruz and El Pitic in Sonora. Roméu had been both an adjutant major and sergeant major in the Company of Dragoons of Spain and had been commandant of Presidio El Pitic in Sonora. Arrillaga was the lieutenant governor of the Californias when he assumed the governorship. Borica had commanded Presidio San Eleazario in Nueva Vizcaya and had been an adjutant inspector of the *Provincias Internas* from 1782-1793. Argüello had been commandant and

habilitado, or supplymaster, of presidios Santa Barbara and San Francisco. And Solá had served as *habilitado* general of the California presidios from 1805-1807.

The *gobernante's* Upper California service generally comprised the twilight of both his career and life. Roméu, Arrillaga, and Borica died while in office, the latter while in Durango on leave of absence because of ill health. And to those who survived their tenure of office an average of only six to seven years of life remained.<sup>3</sup> Most numerous were Portolá's sixteen; after his departure from California he visited Spain for two years in order to resolve some personal affairs, returned to New Spain to serve as governor of Puebla from 1777-1785, and then returned again to Spain, where he continued in the royal service until his death in 1786. Portolá is the only *peninsular gobernante* whose remains are interred in the land of his birth. Argüello's twelve to thirteen years follow closely behind; governor of Lower California from 1815-1822, he retired to the Guadalajara region where he deceased in late 1827 or early 1828. Rivera y Moncada survived four years as lieutenant governor of the Californias before falling at the hands of the Yumas in 1781. Fages' death in Mexico City came after three years as an officer without assignment. And Neve succumbed two years after leaving California, while serving as commandant general of the Provincias Internas. Only the death-date of Solá is uncertain. He left California in 1822 as the province's deputy to the Mexican congress, but knowledge of him after that date is limited to reports that he was not admitted to the legislative body and that he was released from the military in late 1825 or early 1826. The fact that he had reached his mid-sixties, however, would lead one to conclude that his life had about run its course.

Considering the times, the longevity of Upper California's ruler was impressive, and would indicate that he characteristically enjoyed robust health. The average age at time of death was sixty-one. The range was from Argüello's seventy-three or seventy-four years to Roméu's fifty. Three died in their sixties and an equal number in their fifties. With the exception of Rivera y Moncada, they all deceased of natural causes.

The Upper California *gobernante's* death or retirement invariably terminated a military career of great length, for the average was almost thirty-nine years. Portolá's fifty-two years, closely followed by Argüello's forty-nine, head the list, while Solá's respectable thirty rest at the bottom. Six served for thirty-five years or more, and all except Solá in excess of thirty.

The above figures invite one final calculation—the proportion of the man's life contributed to the royal service—and the findings are remarkable. Collectively, Upper California's rulers devoted over sixty percent of their years to the military, and most of them approximated that average. Portolá's amazing seventy-six percent to Solá's forty-six comprise the span. Portolá, however, was rivaled by Neve, whose total was seventy-one percent.

As sketched thus far, the profile of Upper California's *gobernante* reveals much of his typical background and career, but the most critical lines are yet to be drawn. For of all the factors determining his qualifications for the office, and his degree of success therein, the most important were the personal traits he possessed—his personality, character, temperament, and basic capabilities. If, therefore, the complete man is to be recreated those vital facets of his being must be developed. The process will also provide a service which justice perhaps demands, for it should go far toward restoring to the nine men the human qualities of which the above clinical dissection has deprived them.

This portion of the task will be more difficult than that already completed, for rather than being a mere accumulation and treatment of factual data it will involve the making of value judgments, based upon what documents and other sources inform us of the individuals' actions and how they have contemporaneously and subsequently been viewed. With this precautionary thought in mind, we shall proceed, but only after first extending due apologies to those who might be misjudged.

Upper California's ruler without exception was a faithful servant of the crown, who conscientiously strived to fulfill his office's responsibilities as he conceived them. The fact that the individual performances were not all of equal quality was due to variations in other areas, not in that of devotion to duty.

Educationally, he always met at least the minimum requirements of his position, and some cases he exceeded them.<sup>4</sup> Those of *peninsular* nobility had all received the basic education which would be expected of their social class, and perhaps more. We are told, for example, that Solá had been carefully educated in the schools of Spain, and that he had a better education than any of his predecessors.<sup>5</sup> The two *criollos*—Argüello and Rivera y Moncada—were also highly literate despite their more modest origins.

Assessment of his intelligence—or basic intellectual capacity—is less tenable, for that complex and multi-faceted mental characteristic must always be gingerly handled, and particularly in the cases of historical personages who are beyond direct observation and testing. It might suffice, therefore, to point out that only one of Upper California's *gobernantes* has been accused of lacking adequate mental acuity for the office. When in Lower California, both as governor under the Jesuits and as lieutenant governor of the Californias, Rivera y Moncada seems to have performed satisfactorily,<sup>6</sup> but in Monterey with its greater responsibilities and more complex problems he became an anxious, overly-cautious official whose delay in executing superior orders, erratic actions, and conflicts with associates—most notably Father Serra and Juan Bautista de Anza—brought both his excommunication from the church and removal from office.<sup>7</sup> Concurring with José de Gálvez' contemporary view, Father Antonine Tibesar has attributed Rivera y Moncada's plight to



a probable lack of intelligence, to which he adds possible aggravation by emotional factors.<sup>8</sup> With that single possible exception, however, it is clear that Upper California's rulers possessed the intellectual competence required by their position.

Upper California's *gobernante* rarely, if ever, lacked courage. Most of the men had displayed valor during the course of their military careers, as is noted in their service records, and although circumstances in Upper California afforded few opportunities to demonstrate the trait, when these did arise the response generally was respectable. One could cite, for example, Portolá's dogged refusal to admit failure in the face of the multifarious problems which plagued the colonizing expedition of 1769-1770, or Neve's dedication to duty despite the illness he suffered throughout his administration.<sup>9</sup> There were but two possible stains on the record: Rivera y Moncada's chronic preoccupation with what he considered to be an inadequate number of troops at his disposal;<sup>10</sup> and Solá's precipitous retreat from Monterey to the Salinas Valley when confronted with the landing of Hippolyte Bouchard's motley band of Buenos Aires privateers in 1818.<sup>11</sup> In fairness to the two men, however, it should be pointed out that Rivera y Moncada reportedly comported himself well in his fatal encounter with the Yumas,<sup>12</sup> and that King Ferdinand VII, perhaps correctly concluding that Solá merely had shown proper prudence in dealing with overwhelming odds, rewarded his actions against Bouchard with promotion to colonel.<sup>13</sup>

Success in most positions depends more upon personality and human relations than upon any other single factor, and this definitely was true of Upper California's highest office. Optimum exercise of its duties required proper rapport with two principal groups of associates in the province—the Franciscan father president and his fellow friars, and military subordinates, both officers and soliders—and its absence in either case could mean difficulties, ineffectual rule, and ultimate removal. Fortunately, Upper California's *gobernante* typically receives high marks in this area, for although the men provide a study in extremes the findings are significantly skewed toward the favorable end of the scale.

Five of the men left records of exemplary behavior. Portolá remarkably retained the respect and affection of all his associates throughout the extremely trying days of the colonizing expedition. There has been, in fact, little but praise for the manner in which he conducted himself during that difficult period. Borica had an unusually warm relationship with Father President Lasuén, a fellow Basque. Nourished by the governor's role in obtaining financial aid for the friar's destitute sister in Spain,<sup>14</sup> it provided the basis for generally harmonious cooperation between the two men. And we are told that Borica was noted for kindness and courtesy in his intercourse with subordinates.<sup>15</sup> Arrillaga's piousness and his closeness to the Franciscans probably threatened his receiving the derisive appellation *frailero*, and al-

though he reportedly could be abrupt with his soldiers on occasions, the fact that they referred to him as "Papá Arrillaga" reveals their affection for him.<sup>16</sup> Argüello's religiosity was such that Arrillaga labeled him "El Santo,"<sup>17</sup> and upon his departure the friars regretted the loss of one "who seemed like one of us."<sup>18</sup> The statement that at Roméu's funeral "all who knew him displayed deep grief"<sup>19</sup> speaks for itself.

Neve and Solá fare less well when human relations are assessed. The former impresses one as a capable but aloof officer who would gain the respect but little more from his military subordinates. And, as is well known, his relations with Father President Serra and his religious colleagues were notoriously bad.<sup>20</sup> Unlike others who were removed from office under like conditions, Neve was upheld by superior officials, perhaps because, as has been suggested, he was merely acting as the agent of a crown which was determined to affirm royal authority in ecclesiastical affairs, a characteristic of the exaggerated regalism of the times.<sup>21</sup> In Solá's case the coin is reversed. He obviously came from a devout family—one of his sisters was a nun and two of his brothers were priests—and this was reflected in his generally satisfactory relations with the Franciscans.<sup>22</sup> He was, however, unpopular with his military subordinates; his aristocratic manner offended them, he was a strict disciplinarian, and on at least one occasion he struck a soldier who had displeased him.<sup>23</sup>

The behavior of two of the men—Fages and Rivera y Moncada—was such that it brought their removal from office. Fages, however, deserves dual consideration. When military commandant, his inexperience in matters of command and his high-strung temperament combined to make of him a most irascible individual. Consequently, he has received such sobriquets as "Bluff Catalan"<sup>24</sup> and "A veritable Peter the Headstrong,"<sup>25</sup> and his contemporaneous label of "El Oso" probably was not applied in recognition of his bear-hunting exploits of 1772 in the Cañada de los Osos.<sup>26</sup> Regardless, he frequently clashed with fellow officers, alienated the troops under his command to the point of desertion, and carried on a constant conflict with Father President Serra, whose visit to Mexico City in 1773 brought his dismissal.<sup>27</sup> By the time of his return as governor, however, he had matured, and although he occasionally had differences with the Franciscans and others, including his wife, he apparently was a much more congenial companion and associate. Rivera y Moncada's difficulties in dealing with others of equal status has been mentioned above, but he did have one redeeming human relationship; he was fond of his soldiers, and they reciprocated his affection.<sup>28</sup>

With the exceptions of Rivera y Moncada and Fages, when serving as military commandant, Upper California's *gobernante* possessed a combination of the above treated traits which produced a competent and satisfactory administrator. Generally, however, he was of the type which is content merely to carry out orders with little or no inclination to devise. In Neve and

Borica we find two notable exceptions, for both had the twin attributes of a progressive ruler—imagination and initiative. Neve authored the *Reglamento* under which Upper California was governed for most of its Spanish period, planned and founded the province's two enduring civilian pueblos of San Jose and Los Angeles, and established the first Spanish settlements on the Santa Barbara Channel.<sup>29</sup> And in most of those projects he provided leadership for superior officials. Borica was the force behind Father President Lasuén's surge of five mission foundings during 1797-1798, advanced the material development of the missions by requisitioning artisans from Mexico, and promoted education for the children of the soldiers and settlers.<sup>30</sup> Special mention should also be made of Roméu. His capabilities always were highly regarded by superiors, but the illness which handicapped him during his entire administration and terminated it with death after one year precluded their demonstration in Upper California. Otherwise, he too may well have ranked above the average cut of his fellow *gobernantes*.

A look at one final facet of our subjects' lives will reveal more of highly personal traits than of qualification for political governance. I make reference to their domestic status. Six of the nine men were married, the exceptions being Portolá, Arrillaga, and Solá, who apparently were contentedly wedded to the royal service. Upper California, however, enjoyed the presence of but four *gobernadoras*, for Neve failed to bring his wife from Seville to New Spain,<sup>31</sup> and Rivera y Moncada's did not join him in the province. Roméu's family, of course, had a stay of short duration. Those of the others, however, were resident for more prolonged periods, and in two cases they experienced an increase in number; Argüello's nine progeny were born prior to his administration, but the Fages added a daughter<sup>32</sup> and the Boricas two sons<sup>33</sup> to their Monterey households. The Fages' dispute of 1785, a provincial *cause celebre*,<sup>34</sup> has received much attention, but it can be hoped that the incident was merely an aberration in an ordinarily harmonious relationship. Nor is there reason to believe that the Boricas had anything but a happy and tranquil life together. One cannot but conclude, however, that the marriage of Argüello and Ignacia Moraga, a union of two of Spanish Upper California's more prominent families, represented the ultimate in the province's domesticity. The Argüellos were blessed with six sons and three daughters, who became the beneficiaries of effective rearing by capable and loving parents. One son became a priest, and several entered the military, including Luís Antonio, who was destined to become Upper California's first political head during its Mexican period.<sup>35</sup> Better known is a daughter, María de la Concepción Marcela, whose ill-fated romance with the Russian Nikolai Petrovich Rezanov had been immortalized by the poignant poetic lines of Bret Harte.<sup>36</sup>

The pen may now be set aside, for the profile is complete. The observer who stands close and carefully studies the numerous lines which constitute

its structure will detect certain irregularities, but upon stepping back a few paces he will perceive a more homogeneous pattern. Before him will be a general image of the type of man the Spanish monarchs of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries selected to govern the frontier province of Upper California. Their confidence generally was well placed, and their reward was a half century of effective stewardship of that remote portion of their vast American empire. The nine men whom the figure represents held an office which perhaps was of relatively modest importance, and most of their accomplishments would not loom large in the greater scheme of history. For them, however, there would always be the satisfaction of knowing that theirs was a job well done.

#### NOTES

Documentation in the body of the article was confined to material not drawn from the Biographical Data Charts.

1. The precise position held in common by the nine subjects of this study should be defined at the outset. A *gobernante* is an official who is in direct control of a region regardless of his official designation. The term, therefore, is not synonymous with that of governor. For example, Gaspar de Portolá, although his official status as commander of the colonizing expedition has been debated, was certainly the *gobernante* of Upper California from 1769-1770. The same was true of Pedro Fages when he was military commandant of Upper California from 1770-1774, and of Fernando de Rivera y Montcada, who held the same position from 1774-1777. Although those two officials theoretically were under the governor of the Californias resident in Loreto, they were independent of him in reality; they corresponded directly with the viceroy and were required only to report to the governor, who could not reverse their decisions. Essentially, the *gobernante* of Upper California during that time was the principal officer resident in Monterey. When the capital of the Californias was transferred to Monterey in 1777—a change which was effected when Felipe de Neve made the trip northward from Loreto—the distinction between the governor of the Californias and the *gobernante* of Upper California disappeared, for they became one and the same. This circumstance also explains why Neve can be considered the *gobernante* of Upper California only from 1777-1782, although he was governor of the Californias from 1775-1782. From 1777-1804 Upper California's *gobernante*, as governor of the Californias, was also responsible for Lower California, which was directly under a lieutenant governor in Loreto, an office created in 1776. It was not until 1804, when the Californias were divided into Antigua (Lower) California and Nueva (Upper) California, that Upper California had a governor responsible for that province's affairs exclusively. José Joaquín Arrillaga was the first to hold that office.

2. One authority tells us that of the 170 viceroys who ruled in the Spanish Indies up to 1813 only four were American born, and that of 602 captains general, governors, and presidents, only fourteen were Creoles. See Clarence H. Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America* (New York and Burlingame: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1963), p. 194, quoting Lucas Alamán, *Historia de Mexico* (5 vols.; Mexico, 1883-1885), I, 57. Haring notes that if those figures are not altogether accurate, they are approximately so.

3. In calculating this figure I have utilized the number of years the individual survived after his final period in office if, as in the cases of Fages and Arrillaga, they served as *gobernante* on two separate occasions.

4. This conclusion is based upon the intellectual training displayed in the correspondence and written reports of the men.

5. Bancroft, *California*, II, 471-472.

6. For several very favorable comments by Jesuits on Rivera y Moncada's capabilities, character, and performance during his service under them, see Burrus, *Diario . . . Rivera y Moncada*, I, XLI, and Alan K. Brown, "Rivera at San Francisco: A Journal of Exploration, 1774," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XLI (December, 1962), pp. 325-326.

7. Detailed accounts of Rivera y Moncada's difficulties as military commandant may be found in Bancroft, *California*, I, 265-273, and in Geiger, *Life and Times of Serra*, II, Chapters LII-LXI.

8. Antonine Tibesar, O.F.M., ed., *Writings of Junípero Serra* (4 vols.; Washington D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955-1966), I, xvii (hereinafter cited as Tibesar, *Writings of Serra*).

9. On June 4, 1777, just four months after his arrival in Monterey, Neve requested retirement because of ill health, which he attributed to the strain of the seven years he had served as commissioner of the Jesuit temporalities in Zacatecas. See Beilharz, "Felipe de Neve," pp. 22 and 40-41.

10. Rivera y Moncada's constant concern over the number of troops in Upper California is well known, but it can perhaps best be illustrated in his own words. On June 13, 1774, he wrote to a friend, Juan José de Echeveste: "How do you expect that with the twenty-five miserable soldiers I have at the Presidio I am going to punish the insurgents, if disturbances break out in one of the missions? They will have to summon reinforcements for me from the Peninsula; but I shall be reduced to ashes and my bones will have whitened in the sun before those reinforcements will have had time to arrive. That is indeed, alas, the fate that awaits me!" As quoted in Omer Englebert, O.F.M., *The Last of the Conquistadors: Junípero Serra (1713-1784)* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1956), p. 149. For a defense of Rivera y Moncada in this regard, see Burrus, *Diario . . . Rivera y Moncada*, I, XLVI.

11. Details of the Bouchard incident may be found in Bancroft, *California*, II, Chapter XI.

12. *Ibid.*, I, 363.

13. *Ibid.*, II, 471.

14. Fermín Francisco de Lasuén to Fray Pedro Callejas, San Buenaventura, November 28, 1797, in Finbar Kenneally, O.F.M., trans. and ed., *Writings of Fermín Francisco de Lasuén* (2 vols.; Washington D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1965), II, 59-60 (hereinafter cited as Kenneally, *Writings of Lasuén*); and Fermín Francisco de Lasuén to Don Diego de Borica, Santa Barbara, December 13, 1797, in *ibid.*, 61.

15. Bancroft, *California*, I, 727.

16. *Ibid.*, II, 206-207.

17. *Ibid.*, 361.

18. *Ibid.*, 360-361



19. *Ibid.*, I, 490.
20. Details of the frequent differences between Neve and the Franciscans are in *ibid.*, Chapter XV, and in Geiger, *Life and Times of Serra*, II, Chapters LXVI-LXXXI.
21. Tibesar, *Writings of Serra*, I, xvii.
22. Bancroft, *California*, II, 470.
23. *Ibid.*, 471.
24. *Ibid.*, I, 487.
25. Irving B. Richman, *California Under Spain and Mexico* (Boston; 1911), p. 156.
26. For details on Fages' bear hunt in the Cañada de los Osos, see Bancroft, *California*, I, 187, and Geiger, *Life and Times of Serra*, I, 283-284.
27. A detailed account of Serra's visit to Mexico City and its results may be found in Geiger, *Life and Times of Serra*, I, Chapters XLI-XLIV.
28. Bancroft, *California*, I, 363; and Tibesar, *Writings of Serra*, I, xviii.
29. For details of Neve's governorship, see Bancroft, *California*, I, Chapters XIV-XVIII.
30. Details of Borica's governorship may be found in *ibid.*, Chapters XXV, XXVI, XXVIII, XXIX, and XXXIII.
31. Beilharz, "Felipe de Neve," p. 6.
32. Geiger, *Life and Times of Serra*, II, 333.
33. Fermín Francisco de Lasuén to Don Diego de Borica, San Diego, November 5, 1797, in Kenneally, *Writings of Lasuén*, II, 59-60; Fermín Francisco de Lasuén to Don Diego de Borica, San Buenaventura, November 28, 1797, in *ibid.*, 60-61; Fermín Francisco de Lasuén to Don Diego de Borica, March 9, 1799, in *ibid.*, 114-115; Fermín Francisco de Lasuén to Don Diego de Borica, Santa Clara, July 30, 1799, in *ibid.*, 126; and Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, Santa Clara, August 15, 1799, in *ibid.*, 128-129.
34. For details of the Fages' family dispute, see Bancroft, *California*, I, 391-393; and Geiger, *Life and Times of Serra*, II, 394-395 and 399-400.
35. Bancroft, *California*, II, 466-468.
36. Bret Harte's poem "Concepción de Argüello" appears in *The Poetical Works of Bret Harte* (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1883), pp. 74-80.

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA  
GOBERNANTES OF SPANISH UPPER CALIFORNIA

**Gaspar  
de Portolá<sup>1</sup>**

Date of Birth:	1717 <sup>2</sup>
Place of Birth:	Balaguer, Catalanian Province of Lérida.
Class:	Noble.
Marital Status:	Single.
Pre-Gobernante Career:	July 31, 1734–April 26, 1743: Alférez in Regiment of Dragoons of Villaviciosa and Regiment of Dragoons of Numancia.
	April 26, 1743–July 31, 1764: Lieutenant in Regiment of Dragoons of Numancia.
	1743: Participant in Italian campaigns of War of Austrian Succession: Wounded in Battle of Madona del Olmo.
	1762: Participant in Spain's invasion of Portugal during Seven Years' War.
	July 31, 1764: Commissioned as captain in newly created Regiment of Dragoons of Spain, destined to serve in New Spain.
	November 1, 1764: Arrived in Veracruz, New Spain. <sup>3</sup>
Upper California Rule:	November 30, 1767–March 9, 1769: Governor of Lower California. <sup>4</sup>
	November 30, 1767–February 3, 1768: Commissioner of Expulsion of Jesuits in Lower California. <sup>5</sup>
	March 9, 1769–July 9, 1770: As military commander of the colonizing expedition. <sup>6</sup>
	January 5, 1771: Promoted to rank of lieutenant colonel in Regiment of Dragoons of Spain. <sup>7</sup>
Post-Gobernante Career:	1773–1776(?): In Spain on leave of absence. <sup>8</sup>
	1777–1785: Governor of Puebla, New Spain. <sup>9</sup>
	July 7, 1777: Promoted to rank of colonel. <sup>10</sup>
	1785: Returned to Spain. <sup>11</sup>
	September 7, 1785: Appointed colonel in Regiment of Dragoons of Numancia. <sup>12</sup>
Date of Death:	February 7, 1786: Appointed Teniente de Rey de la Plaza y Castillos de la Ciudad de Lérida. <sup>13</sup>
	October 10, 1786. <sup>14</sup>
Place of Death	Lérida <sup>15</sup>

1. The material on Portolá basically was obtained from: Gaspar de Portolá, Hoja de Servicios, September 30, 1770, in Archivo General de la Nación, México D.F., Correspondencia de los Virreyes, tomo 3 (Croix, 1769-1773) (hereinafter this archive will be cited as AGN, and the section as Virreyes); Gaspar de Portolá, Hoja de Servicios, April 30, 1771, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 84A; and Portolá Memorial to the king, 1770, an enclosure in Marqués de Croix to Julián de Arriaga, Mexico, September 28, 1770, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 13 (Croix, 1769-1770). Other sources cited supplement that data.

2. Fernando Boneu Companys, *Don Gaspar de Portolá: El Noble Militar Leridano, Descubridor y Primer Gobernador de California* (Madrid: Publicaciones Españolas, 1970), p. 7 (hereinafter cited as Companys, *Portolá*). The birth-years of most of the subjects of this study can be precisely calculated by utilizing their hojas de servicios, which indicate their age at the time of writing. Since most are dated December 31, the year is obvious. In the case of Portolá, however, the problem is more difficult; in the two hojas de servicios cited above and one dated December 31, 1762, which appears in Companys' pamphlet give various ages which would place Portolá's birth-year as early as 1716 and as late as 1723. Although he did not cite his sources, Companys obviously had access to other records, perhaps baptismal. Hence, I have accepted his statement that 1717 was the year of Portolá's birth.

3. Juan Villalba y Angulo to Viceroy Cruillas, Veracruz, November 1, 1764, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 304A; and Cruillas to Arriaga, Mexico, November 4, 1764, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 10 (Cruillas, 1761-1766).

4. Portolá was named governor of Lower California and Commissioner of Expulsion of the Jesuits on June 3, 1767. See Croix to Domingo Elizondo, Mexico, June 3, 1767, MS, HM 22487, in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Not until November 30, however, was he able to reach Cabo de San Lucas on the Peninsula and assume control. See Mary Margaret Downey, R.S.C.J., "The Expulsion of the Jesuits from Baja California" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation; University of California, Berkeley, 1940), p. 133 (hereinafter cited as Downey, "Expulsion of the Jesuits"). The date I have established as ending Portolá's Lower California governorship and beginning his Upper California rule is that upon which he departed from Loreto and initiated his active participation in the colonizing expedition. See Herbert Eugene Bolton, ed., *Historical Memoirs of New California by Fray Francisco Palou* (4 vols.; New York: Russell & Russell, 1966), II, 25 (hereinafter cited as Bolton, *Palou's Memoirs*).

5. Portolá's responsibilities as Commissioner of Expulsion ended on February 3, 1768, when the sixteen Jesuits of Lower California set sail for the mainland. See Downey, "Expulsion of the Jesuits," pp. 154-156.

6. Portolá's Upper California rule came to a close on July 9, 1770, when he sailed from newly-established Monterey on the *San Antonio*, leaving Pedro Fages in charge as military commandant. See Bolton, *Palou's Memoirs*, II, 298-299; and Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M., trans. and annot., *Palou's Life of Fray Junípero Serra* (Washington D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955), p. 94.

7. Croix to Arriaga, Mexico, September 28, 1770, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 13 (Croix, 1769-1770); Juan G. Muniaín to Arriaga, Palacio, January 5, 1771, in Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 417 (hereinafter this archive will be cited as AGI, and the legajo as Guadalajara); Croix to Arriaga, Mexico, April 29, 1771, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 14 (Croix, 1770-1771).

8. Croix to Arriaga, Mexico, September 19, 1771, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 14

(Croix, 1770-1771); Bucareli to Arriaga, Mexico, September 26, 1772, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 30 (Bucareli, 1772); and *Estado* of the Regiment of Dragoons of Spain, Puebla, August 2, 1773, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 162B. I have been unable to find evidence as to the time when Portolá made his return to New Spain.

9. Royal Appointment of Gaspar de Portolá as Governor of Puebla de los Angeles, Aranjuez, June 9, 1776, in Archivo General de Simancas, Direccion General del Tesoro, Inventario 24 (hereinafter this archive will be cited as AGS); and Bucareli to José de Gálvez, Mexico, November 26, 1777, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 97 (Bucareli, November, 1777).

10. Bucareli to Gálvez, Mexico, March 27, 1777, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 89 (Bucareli, March, 1777); and Bucareli to Gálvez, Mexico, November 26, 1777, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 97 (Bucareli, November, 1777).

11. Portolá was granted permission to retire from the governorship in early 1784, but it was not until 1785 that he relinquished the office and returned to Spain. See Matias de Gálvez to José de Gálvez, Mexico, January 24, 1784, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 134 (Matías de Gálvez, 1784); and Companys, *Portolá*, p. 25.

12. Companys, *Portolá*, p. 26.

13. *Ibid.*

14. Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M., *The Life and Times of Fray Junípero Serra* (2 vols.; Washington D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1959), I, 153 (hereinafter cited as Geiger, *Life and Times of Serra*). Portolá's date of death also appears in Companys, *Portolá* under a photograph of his appointment as Teniente de Rey de la Plaza y Castillos de Lérída.

15. *Ibid.*



**Pedro  
Fages<sup>1</sup>**

Date of Birth:	1730.
Place of Birth:	Guizona, Catalanian Province of Barcelona.
Class:	Noble.
Marital Status:	Married.
	June 29, 1762–May 15, 1767: Subteniente in Second Regiment of Light Infantry of Catalonia.
	1762: Participant in Spain's invasion of Portugal during Seven Years' War.
	May 15, 1767: Commissioned as lieutenant in newly formed Infantry Company of Catalan Volunteers, destined to serve in Colonel Domingo Elizondo expedition against rebellious Indians of Sonora, New Spain. <sup>2</sup>
Pre-Gobernante Career:	August, 1767: Arrived in Veracruz, New Spain. <sup>3</sup>
	1767–September, 1768: Participant in Elizondo campaign in Sonora. <sup>4</sup>
	1769–1770: Participant in Upper California colonizing expedition.
First Upper California Rule:	July 9, 1770–May 25, 1774: Military commandant of Upper California. <sup>5</sup>
	January 5, 1771: Promoted to rank of captain.
	1775: Authored report on Upper California upon order of Viceroy Antonio Maria Bucareli y Ursua. <sup>6</sup>
	1775–1777: Commander of Second Company of Catalan Volunteers in Guadalajara. <sup>7</sup>
Interim:	1778–1782: Commander of Second Company of Catalan Volunteers in the Provincias Internas. Commandant of presidios Santa Cruz and El Pitic in Sonora. <sup>8</sup>
	October 22, 1778: Promoted to rank of lieutenant colonel.
	September, 1781–September, 1782: Participant in Colorado River campaign against the Yuma Indians. <sup>9</sup>
Second Upper California Rule:	September 10, 1782–April 16, 1791: Governor of the Californias. <sup>10</sup>
	February 18, 1789: Promoted to rank of colonel.
Post-Gobernante Career:	1791–1794: Officer without assignment in Mexico City. <sup>11</sup>
Date of Death:	Late 1794. <sup>12</sup>
Place of Death:	Mexico City. <sup>13</sup>

1. The material on Fages basically was obtained from: Pedro Fages, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1773, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 167A; Pedro Fages, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1776, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 167A; Pedro Fages, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1791, in AGN, Californias, tomo 66;

and Pedro Fages, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1793, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 152A. Other sources cited supplement that data.

2. Julián de Arriaga to Marqués de Croix, Madrid, May 12, 1767, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 416.

3. Croix to Arriaga, Mexico, August 27, 1767, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 416; Croix to Arriaga, Mexico, September 24, 1767, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 11 (Croix, 1766-1767); and Croix to Arriaga, Mexico, September 27, 1767, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 11 (Croix, 1766-1767).

4. Fages and twenty-five Catalan Volunteers under his command were detached from Elizondo's force to serve in the Upper California colonizing expedition on September 11, 1768. See *Testimonio* regarding a grant of 1500 pesos to Pedro Fages in recognition of his services in Upper California, Mexico, February 12, 1776, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 515.

5. Fages' first Upper California rule began on July 9, 1770, when Portolá departed from Monterey on the *San Antonio*. See Portolá Note 6 above. It ended on May 25, 1774, on which date Fernando de Rivera y Moncada formally replaced him as military commandant. See Ernest J. Burrus, S.J., ed., *Diario del Capitan Comandante Fernando de Rivera y Moncada* (2 vols.; Madrid: Ediciones José Porrúa Turanzas, 1967), I, 3 (hereinafter cited as Burrus, *Diario . . . Rivera y Moncada*).

6. The original manuscript of this highly regarded report by Fages is in Documentos relativos a las Misiones de Californias, Lancaster-Jones Papers, Cuarto 4, Museo Nacional, Mexico D.F., and a signed contemporary copy, dated November 30, 1775, is in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 515. A published translation of the document may be found in Herbert Ingram Priestley, *A Historical, Political, and Natural Description of California by Pedro Fages, Soldier of Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937).

7. Details on this part of Fages' career are in Donald Andrew Nuttall, "Pedro Fages and the Advance of the Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1767-1782," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation; University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1964), pp. 433-435 (hereinafter cited as Nuttall, "Pedro Fages").

8. This phase of Fages' service in the Provincias Internas is treated in *ibid.*, pp. 446-457.

9. For a comprehensive treatment of Fages' participation in the Colorado River campaign, see *ibid.*, Chapters XI-XII.

10. For the beginning of Fages' governorship, see Certificate of formal taking possession of the Government of the Californias by Lieutenant Colonel Don Pedro Fages, signed by José Velásquez, San Sebastián, September 10, 1782, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 283. It ended on April 16, 1791, when Lieutenant Governor José Joaquín Arriaga formally transferred the office to José Antonio Roméu in Loreto. See Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (7 vols.; San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft and Company, 1884-1890), I, 482 (hereinafter cited as Bancroft, *California*).

11. Pedro Fages, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1793, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 152A. This document is included in a section entitled, "Hojas de Servicios de oficiales de graduación que fallecieron en el año de 1794."

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*

**Fernando  
de Rivera y  
Moncada<sup>1</sup>**

Date of Birth:	1710 or 1711. <sup>2</sup>
Place of Birth:	In or near Compostela, New Spain. <sup>3</sup>
Class:	Ignoble. <sup>4</sup>
Marital Status:	Married. <sup>5</sup>
	1742–1750: Member of company of Loreto Presidio. <sup>6</sup>
	1750–1767: Captain of Loreto Presidio company and governor of Lower California under Jesuit supervision. <sup>7</sup>
Pre-Gobernante Career:	1769–1770: Participant in Upper California colonizing expedition.
	1772–1773: Retired from military service. Resided in Guadalajara region. <sup>8</sup>
Upper California Rule:	May 25, 1774–February 3, 1777: Military commandant of Upper California. <sup>9</sup>
Post-Gobernante Career:	1777–1781: Lieutenant governor of the Californias, resident in Loreto.
Date of Death:	July 18, 1781. <sup>10</sup>
Place of Death:	Colorado River. Victim of Yuma Indian uprising. <sup>11</sup>

1. Of the nine subjects of this study Rivera y Moncada is the only one for whom I have found no Hoja de Servicios. The material on his career and life, therefore, had to be drawn entirely from other sources.

2. Rivera y Moncada's birthdate is not altogether clear. Burrus indicates that it was about 1725, but he cites no source. See Burrus, *Diario . . . Rivera y Moncada*, I, XL. In 1781, however, Teodoro de Croix, the commandant general of the Provincias Internas, to José de Gálvez that Rivera y Moncada had requested retirement and that he was then seventy years of age. See Alfred Barnaby Thomas, ed., *Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1776-1783* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), p. 238. This would place Rivera y Moncada's year of birth as either 1710 or 1711, which I have accepted as being accurate.

3. Burrus, *Diario . . . Rivera y Moncada*, I, XL; and Geiger, *Life and Times of Serra*, I, 207.

4. This conclusion is based on lack of evidence to the contrary. The possibility that Rivera y Moncada was of noble birth remains, however.

5. Rivera y Moncada married Doña María Teresa Dávalo y Patrón in approximately 1750. The union resulted in the birth of three sons and one daughter. See Burrus, *Diario . . . Rivera y Moncada*, I, XLII.

6. When requesting retirement in 1770, Rivera y Moncada indicated that he had served since 1742. See Rivera y Moncada to Marqués de Croix, San Fernando de Velicatá, March 2, 1770, in AGN, Californias, tomo 66. I have found no record of his original rank.

7. Rivera y Moncada became the acting captain of the Loreto Presidio and governor of Lower California upon the death of the incumbent, Bernardo Rodrigues Lorenzo, in 1750. A royal decree of September 11, 1752, confirmed his appointment to those offices. See Burrus, *Diario . . . Rivera y Moncada*, I, xx-xxi. The royal decree is

Document I in the first appendix of Burrus' work. Gaspar de Portolá relieved him of both positions shortly after his arrival on the Peninsula in November, 1767. See Portolá Note 4 above.

8. Rivera y Moncada's request to retire was granted by Viceroy Croix on November 12, 1770. See Marqués de Croix to Rivera y Moncada, Mexico, November 12, 1770, in AGN, Californias, tomo 66. The governor of the Californias, Felipe de Barri, delayed his departure, however, and it was not until January, 1772, that he set sail from Loreto for the mainland. See Bolton, *Palou's Memoirs*, I, 168. He subsequently purchased a small *hacienda* near Guadalajara, where he resided until his appointment as military commandant of Upper California in late 1773. See Burrus, *Diario . . . Rivera y Moncada*, I, xxii. The exact date of his appointment is not known, but his instructions from Viceroy Bucareli were dated August 17, 1773. They may be found in AGN, Californias, tomo 35.

9. Rivera y Moncada arrived in Monterey on May 23, 1774, and formally replaced Pedro Fages as military commandant two days later. See Fages Note 5 above. His Upper California rule ended on February 3, 1777 when Felipe de Neve, the governor of the Californias, arrived in Monterey. Pursuant to a royal order of April 10, 1776, Monterey henceforth was to be the capital of the Californias, and Rivera y Moncada was to reside in Loreto as lieutenant governor, a newly created office. He departed for the south on March 3. See Edwin A. Beilharz, "Felipe de Neve: Governor of California and Commandant General of the Interior Provinces" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation; University of California, Berkeley, 1951), pp. 24-30 (hereinafter cited as Beilharz, "Felipe de Neve").

10. Bancroft, *California*, I, 363; and Burrus, *Diario . . . Rivera y Moncada*, I, xxxii-xxxiii.

11. *Ibid.*



# Felipe de Neve<sup>1</sup>

Date of Birth:	1728
Place of Birth:	Baylen, Kingdom of Andalusia.
Class:	Noble. <sup>2</sup>
Marital Status:	Married.
Pre-Gobernante Career:	March 13, 1744–August 30, 1746: Cadet in Infantry Regiment of Cantabria.
	August 31, 1746–July 30, 1749: Member of Real Guardia de Corps.
	July 31, 1749–November 5, 1751: Lieutenant <i>reformado</i> in Cavalry Regiment of Flanders.
	November 6, 1751–October 16, 1756: Lieutenant in Cavalry Regiment of Milan.
	October 17, 1756–August 31, 1764: Adjutant Major of Cavalry Regiment of Milan and Cavalry Regiment of the King.
	1762: Participant in Spain's invasion of Portugal during Seven Years' War.
	September 1, 1764: Appointed Sergeant Major. Destined to aid in formation of provincial militia regiments in New Spain.
	November 1, 1764: Arrived in Veracruz, New Spain. <sup>3</sup>
	1765–1774: Sergeant Major of Provincial Cavalry Regiment of Querétaro. <sup>4</sup>
	1767–1774: Commissioner in charge of Jesuit temporalities in Zacatecas. <sup>5</sup>
Upper California Rule:	March 4, 1775–Late 1776: Governor of the Californias, resident in Loreto. <sup>6</sup>
	October 16, 1774: Promoted to rank of lieutenant colonel. <sup>7</sup>
	February 3, 1777–September 10, 1782: Governor of the Californias, resident in Monterey. <sup>8</sup>
Post-Gobernante Career:	January 5, 1778: Promoted to rank of colonel. <sup>9</sup>
	September 10, 1782–August 12, 1783: Commandant Inspector of the <i>Provincias Internas</i> . <sup>10</sup>
	August 12, 1783–August 24, 1784: Commandant General of the <i>Provincias Internas</i> . <sup>11</sup>
Date of Death:	February 15, 1783: Promoted to rank of brigadier general. <sup>12</sup>
	August 21, 1784. <sup>13</sup>
Place of Death:	Hacienda de Nuestra Señora de Carmen de Peña-blanca, Nueva Vizcaya. <sup>14</sup>

1. The material on Neve basically was obtained from: Felipe de Neve, Hoja de Servicios, August 31, 1766, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 9; Felipe de Neve, Hoja de Servicios, March 31, 1773, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 54 (Bucareli, May, 1774); Felipe de Neve, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1780, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 281; *Instancia* of Neve, 1770, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 15 (Croix, 1766-1771); and *Instancia* of Neve, May 1, 1774, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 54 (Bucareli, May, 1774). Other sources cited supplement that data.

2. Neve always wrote "conocida," or "known," in that part of his hojas de servicios which called for designation of class. In view of the high positions which he attained in the royal service, I have concluded that he must have been of noble birth.

3. See Portolá Note 3 above.

4. *Estado* of First Regiment of Provincial Cavalry of Querétaro, September 7, 1765, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 243A; *Estado* of First Regiment of Provincial Cavalry of Querétaro, July 13, 1771, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 18 (Bucareli, 1771); and *Estado* of First Regiment of Provincial Cavalry of Querétaro, May 24, 1773, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 53 (Bucareli, April, 1774).

5. Details of this phase of Neve's career may be found in Beilharz, "Felipe de Neve," pp. 10-14. The *Estados* of the First Regiment of Provincial Cavalry of Querétaro cited above listed him as the regiment's sergeant major during this period but noted that he was on special assignment in Zacatecas.

6. Viceroy Bucareli named Neve the acting governor of the Californias on October 28, 1774. He arrived in Loreto and assumed the duties of his office on March 4, 1775. See Beilharz, "Felipe de Neve," pp. 14-16.

7. Bucareli to Arriaga, Mexico, February 24, 1775, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 64 (Bucareli, February, 1775); and Luis Navarro García, *José de Gálvez y la Comandancia General de las Provincias Internas del Norte de Nueva España* (Sevilla: Publicaciones de la Escuela de Estudios Hispano, 1964), p. 431 (hereinafter cited as Navarro García, *José de Gálvez*).

8. Rivera y Moncada Note 9 and Fages Note 10 above.

9. Navarro García, *José de Gálvez*, p. 432.

10. The date given as the beginning of Neve's tenure as commandant inspector of the Provincias Internas is that upon which he formally relinquished the California governorship to Fages, and he served in that capacity until he assumed office of commandant general. The crown conferred the latter position upon him on February 15, 1783, but it was not until August 12 of that year that Teodoro de Croix formally placed the office in his hands. See Navarro García, *José de Gálvez*, p. 430.

11. Neve's term as commandant general was terminated by his death on August 21, 1784. See *ibid.*, p. 443.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 430.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 443.

14. *Ibid.*

**José  
Antonio  
Roméu<sup>1</sup>**

Date of Birth:	1742–1743.
Place of Birth:	Valencia.
Class:	Noble.
Marital Status:	Married.
	August 15, 1762–July 31, 1764: Lieutenant in Regiment of Dragoons of Tricia.
	July 1, 1764: Appointed lieutenant in Regiment of Dragoons of Spain, destined to serve in New Spain.
	November 1, 1764: Arrived in Veracruz, New Spain. <sup>2</sup>
Pre-Gobernante Career:	July 2, 1773–October 9, 1773: Adjutant major of Regiment of Dragoons of Spain.
	October 9, 1773: Promoted to rank of captain.
	1780–1783: Commander of detachment of Dragoons of Spain serving in the <i>Provincias Internas</i> .
	January, 1782–September, 1783: Commander of Colorado River campaign against Yuma Indians. <sup>3</sup>
	1783: Commander of El Pitic Presidio in Sonora. <sup>4</sup>
	July 9, 1783: Promoted to rank of lieutenant colonel.
	Late 1783–May, 1790: Served with Regiment of Dragoons of Spain in Mexico City and Puebla.
	February 16, 1786: Named sergeant major of Regiment of Dragoons of Spain.
Upper California Rule:	April 16, 1791–April 9, 1792: Governor of the Californias. <sup>5</sup>
Date of Death:	April 9, 1792. <sup>6</sup>
Place of Death:	Monterey. <sup>7</sup>

1. The material on Roméu basically was obtained from: José Antonio Roméu, Hoja de Servicios, April 30, 1771, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 84A; and José Antonio Roméu, Hoja de Servicios, April 30, 1790, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 84A. Other sources cited supplement that data.

2. See Portolá Note 3 above.

3. Roméu's role in the Colorado River campaign is treated in Navarro García, *José de Gálvez*, p. 395; Bancroft, *California*, I, 370; and Nuttall, "Pedro Fages," Chapter XII.

4. Teodoro de Croix to Gálvez, Arispe, February 24, 1783, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 518; Gálvez to Croix, San Ildefonso, August 29, 1783, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 518; and Navarro García, *José de Gálvez*, p. 393.

5. See Fages Note 10 above for beginning of Roméu's governorship. Details of his illness and death are in Bancroft, *California*, I, 489-490 and 501-502.

6. Bancroft, *California*, I, 489-490.

7. *Ibid.*

José  
Joaquín  
de Arrillaga<sup>1</sup>

Date of Birth:	1750
Place of Birth:	Aya, Basque Province of Guipuzcoa.
Class:	Noble.
Marital Status:	Single.
Pre-Gobernante Career:	May 25, 1777–March 30, 1778: Volunteer in company of Presidio San Miguel de Horcasitas in Sonora. March 30, 1778: Promoted to rank of alférez. March 30, 1778–June 12, 1783: Alférez and lieutenant in companies of presidios San Sabás and La Bahía in Texas. <sup>2</sup> July 14, 1780: Promoted to rank of lieutenant. June 12, 1783: Promoted to rank of captain. November, 1783–April 9, 1792: Commander of Loreto Presidio and lieutenant governor of the Californias. <sup>3</sup>
First Upper California Rule:	April 9, 1792–May 14, 1794: Governor <i>ad interim</i> of the Californias. <sup>4</sup>
Interim:	May 14, 1794–January 16, 1800: Commander of Loreto Presidio and lieutenant governor of the Californias. December 15, 1794: Promoted to rank of lieutenant colonel.
Second Upper California Rule:	January 16, 1800–March 26, 1804: Governor <i>ad interim</i> of the Californias. <sup>5</sup> March 26, 1804–July 24, 1814: Governor of Upper (Nueva) California. <sup>6</sup> 1809 or 1810: Promoted to rank of colonel. <sup>7</sup>
Date of Death:	July 24, 1814. <sup>8</sup>
Place of Death:	Mission Nuestra Señora de la Soledad. <sup>9</sup>

1. The material on Arrillaga basically was obtained from: José Joaquín Arrillaga, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1794, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 9; and José Joaquín Arrillaga, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1798, in AGS, Guerra Moderna, legajo 7275. Other sources cited supplement that data.

2. Arrillaga apparently was destined at one time to serve as alférez of the company of Presidio Santa Cruz in Sonora. For example, see Nomination of José Arrillaga as alférez of Santa Cruz, by José Rubio, Chihuahua, March 26, 1778, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 276; and Naming of Arrillaga as alférez, by José de Gálvez (for the king), San Ildefonso, August 26, 1778, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 506. His *hojas de servicios*, however, do not indicate that he served at that post.

3. For time of Arrillaga's arrival in Loreto and assumption of his offices there, see Bancroft, *California*, II, 205. His rule as governor *ad interim* of the Californias began with Roméu's death on April 9, 1792. See Roméu Note 5 above.



4. Arrillaga's term as governor *ad interim* ended on May 14, 1794, when Diego de Borica officially assumed the governorship in Loreto. See Bancroft, *California*, I, 531.

5. Arrillaga became governor *ad interim* of the Californias for a second time on January 16, 1800, when Borica departed from Upper California on leave of absence due to ill health. He was civil governor only, however, for Colonel Pedro de Alberni of the Catalan Volunteers who outranked him and was resident in Monterey became military commandant of Upper California. Upon Alberni's death on March 11, 1802, Arrillaga again assumed the military command of the province. See Bancroft, *California*, I, 729 and II, 5.

6. A royal order of March 26, 1804, divided the Californias into the two provinces of Antigua (Lower) California and Nueva (Upper) California, and Arrillaga was

(continued on following page)

## Diego de Borica<sup>1</sup>

Date of Birth:	1742.
Place of Birth:	Basque Province of Vizcaya.
Class:	Hidalgo.
Marital Status:	Married.
Pre-Gobernante Career:	March 15, 1763–July 31, 1764: Cadet in Infantry Regiment of Seville.
	July 31, 1764: Appointed lieutenant in Infantry Regiment of America, formed for service in New Spain.
	November 1, 1764: Arrived in Veracruz, New Spain. <sup>2</sup>
	November 1, 1765–March 14, 1774: Lieutenant in Provincial Infantry Regiment of Mexico.
	March 14, 1774: Rank changed to lieutenant of cavalry and transferred to presidial company of Santa Fe, New Mexico. <sup>3</sup>
	1774–1777: Lieutenant of presidial company of Santa Fe, New Mexico.
	July 8, 1777: Promoted to rank of captain.
	1777–1780: Commandant of Presidio San Eleazario in Nueva Vizcaya. <sup>4</sup>
	1778–1780: Acting inspector of presidios and troops in Nueva Vizcaya. <sup>5</sup>
	1780–1793: Third adjutant inspector of <i>Provincias Internas</i> . <sup>6</sup>
Upper California Rule:	February 5, 1785: Promoted to rank of lieutenant colonel.
	May 14, 1794–January 16, 1800: Governor of the Californias. <sup>7</sup>
Date of Death:	July 19, 1800. <sup>8</sup>
Place of Death:	Durango, New Spain. <sup>9</sup>

named civil and military governor of the latter. Arrillaga became, therefore, the first governor to have authority in Upper California exclusively. See The king to the governor of the Council of the Indies, Aranjuez, March 26, 1804, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 301; and Bancroft, *California*, II, 20-21. Arrillaga's governorship was terminated by his death on July 24, 1814. See Bancroft, *California*, II, 204.

7. I have found no evidence indicating the exact date of Arrillaga's promotion to colonel, but it apparently came in late 1809 or early 1810. See Bancroft, *California*, II, 205.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 204.

9. *Ibid.*

1. The material on Borica basically was obtained from: Diego de Borica, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1772, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 52 (Bucareli, April, 1774); Diego de Borica, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1793, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 152A; Diego de Borica, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1790, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 176; and Diego de Borica, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1798, in AGS, Guerra Moderna, legajo 7275. Other sources cited supplement that data.

2. See Portolá Note 3 above.

3. Bucareli to Arriaga, Mexico, March 27, 1774, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 49 (Bucareli, March, 1774); and Royal Decree, San Ildefonso, July 31, 1774, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 513.

4. Luis Navarro García, *La Gobernacion y comandancia general de las provincias internas de norte de Nueva España: Estudio Institucional* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta de la Universidad, 1963), p. 146 (hereinafter cited as Navarro García, *La Gobernacion ... Nueva Espana*).

5. *Ibid.*

6. Borica was appointed the third adjutant inspector of the *Provincias Internas* in 1780. Royal confirmation, however, was not forthcoming until 1782. See Croix to Gálvez, Arispe, April 23, 1780, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 519; Croix to the king, Arispe, October 23, 1780, in AGI Guadalajara, legajo 267; Gálvez to Croix, El Pardo, March 4, 1782, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 519; Navarro García, *José de Gálvez*, p. 361; and Navarro García, *La Gobernacion ... Nueva Espana*, p. 146.

7. See Arrillaga Notes 4 and 5 above.

8. Having received a leave of absence because of ill health, Borica departed from Upper California on January 16, 1800. He arrived in San Blas on February 4 from where he traveled to Durango. He died in that city on July 19. See Viceroy José Miguel de Azanza to Antonio Cornel, Mexico, March 27, 1800, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 200 (Azanza, 1800); and Viceroy Félix Berenguer de Marquina to Cornel, Mexico, August 27, 1800, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 203 (Marquina, 1800).

9. Viceroy Félix Berenguer de Marquina to Cornel, Mexico, August 27, 1800, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 203 (Marquina, 1800).

José  
Darío  
Argüello<sup>1</sup>

Date of Birth:	1754
Place of Birth:	Ciudad de Querétaro, New Spain.
Class:	Noble. <sup>2</sup>
Marital Status:	Married.
	September 20, 1772–July 1, 1778: Soldier in Regiment of Dragoons of Mexico.
	July 1, 1778: Promoted to rank of sergeant.
	July 1, 1778–February 8, 1781: Sergeant in company of Altar Presidio in Sonora.
	February 8, 1781: Promoted to rank of alférez.
Pre-Gobernante Career:	February 8, 1781–February 9, 1787: Alférez in company of Presidio Santa Barbara in California. <sup>3</sup>
	February 9, 1787: Promoted to rank of lieutenant.
	1787–1806: Commandant of Presidio San Francisco. <sup>4</sup>
	June 12, 1797: Promoted to rank of brevet captain.
	December 1, 1806: Promoted to rank of captain.
	1807–1815: Commandant of Presidio Santa Barbara. <sup>5</sup>
Upper California Rule:	July 24, 1814–August 30, 1815: Governor <i>ad interim</i> of Upper (Nueva) California. <sup>6</sup>
	Late 1815–July or August, 1822: Governor of Lower (Antigua) California. <sup>7</sup>
Post-Gobernante Career:	1822–Late 1827 or early 1828: Retired. Resident of Guadalajara. <sup>8</sup>
Date of Death:	Late 1827 or early 1828. <sup>9</sup>
Place of Death:	Guadalajara. <sup>10</sup>

1. The material on Argüello basically was obtained from: José Darío Argüello, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1795, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 9; José Darío Argüello, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1796, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 9; and José Darío Argüello, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1814, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 216A. Other sources cited supplement that data.

2. The first two hojas de servicios of Argüello cited above have the word “honrada,” or “honorable,” in the place calling for designation of class. That of 1814 indicates “noble.”

3. Argüello was promoted to the rank of alférez and assigned to the company of the planned Presidio of Santa Barbara on February 8, 1781. His actual service at the presidio did not begin until its formal founding on April 21, 1782. See Bancroft, *California*, I, 377.

4. *Ibid.*, I, 471–472, and II, 117 and 358–359.

5. *Ibid.*, II, 358–359. While serving as governor *ad interim* of Nueva California from July 24, 1814 to August 30, 1815, Argüello continued to act as commandant of Presidio Santa Barbara and remained at that post.

6. Argüello became governor *ad interim* of Nueva (Upper) California upon the death of Arrillaga on July 24, 1814. See Arrillaga Note 6 above. His tenure ended when the newly appointed governor, Pablo Vicente de Solá, arrived in Monterey on August 30, 1815. See Bancroft, *California*, II, 208.

7. Argüello had been named governor of Antigua (Lower) California by a royal decree of December 31, 1814. He departed for the south by land in October, 1815, and assumed office upon his arrival in Loreto. His retirement came in July or August of 1822. See Bancroft, *California*, II, 359-360.

8. *Ibid.*, 360.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*

Pablo  
Vicente  
de Solá<sup>1</sup>

Date of Birth:	1761
Place of Birth:	Villa of Mondragon, Basque Province of Viscaya.
Class:	Hidalgo.
Marital Status:	Single.
Pre-Gobernante Career:	May 18, 1796: Appointed captain in Provincial Militia Infantry Regiment of Toluca.
	November 11, 1805–February 20, 1807: <i>Habilitado general ad interim</i> of the Californias. <sup>2</sup>
	1810–1811: Campaigned against insurgents of Father Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla. <sup>3</sup>
	1811–1812(?): Promoted to rank of lieutenant colonel. <sup>4</sup>
Upper California Rule:	August 30, 1815–November 10, 1822: Governor of Upper (Nueva) California. <sup>5</sup>
	March 22, 1819: Promoted to rank of colonel. <sup>6</sup>
Post-Gobernante Career:	Deputy from California to Mexican Congress. Reportedly not admitted. <sup>7</sup>
	1825 or 1826: Separated from military service. <sup>8</sup>
Date of Death:	Unknown.
Place of Death:	Unknown.

1. The material on Solá basically was obtained from: Pablo Vicente de Solá, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1800, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 298A; and Pablo Vicente de Solá, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1806, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 24A. Other sources cited supplement that data.

2. Appointment of Pablo Solá, of Toluca, as *habilitado-general ad interim* of the Californias, May 16, 1805, in AGN, Californias, tomo 69. See also, Bancroft, *California*, II, 188.

3. Shortly after the outbreak of Father Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla's rebellion in September, 1810 Viceroy Francisco Xavier Venegas ordered a number of provincial militia units to Mexico City, including the Provincial Militia Infantry Regiment of Toluca, in which Solá held the rank of captain. The Toluca regiment was in Mexico City when it was threatened by Hidalgo's forces, and it later was part of a force under the command of Brigadier General José de la Cruz which campaigned against the insurgents in Nueva Galicia. See Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Mexico* (5 vols.; San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, 1886-1888), IV, 160, 242-260, 323-339, and 359.

4. I have found no documentary evidence relative to the date of Solá's promotion to lieutenant colonel, but it probably came in 1811 or 1812 in recognition of his services against the Hidalgo insurrectionists.

5. Solá was appointed governor of Nueva (Upper) California on December 31, 1814. On March 31, 1815, he took the oath of office before General José de la Cruz in Guadalajara. It was not until August 30, however, that he arrived in Monterey and assumed the duties of his office. See Bancroft, *California*, II, 208. His rule of the province ended on or around November 22, 1822, when he set sail for Mexico leaving Luís Antonio Argüello as *gefe político* of Mexican California. See Bancroft, *California*, II, 468.

6. *Ibid.*, 471.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*



## Book Reviews

CHARLES WOLLENBERG, *Book Review Editor*

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*The American West: Frontier and Region.* Interpretations by John Walton Caughey. Edited and with an introduction by Norris Hundley, Jr. and John A. Schutz. (Los Angeles: The Ward Ritchie Press, 1969. xxvii + 287 pp. \$10.00.)

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*Reviewed by* JO BETH JACOBS, *Lecturer, Santa Barbara City College.*

*The American West: Frontier and Region* is published as a tribute to John Walton Caughey, a prolific historian who combines the best attributes of the scholarly, dispassionate academician with those of the idealistic, passionate activist. For four decades he has been steadily writing on the history of the frontier and the West and defending the cause of liberty, both academic and civil. Norris Hundley, Jr. and John A. Schutz, first rate historians in their own right, have successfully met the challenge of distilling the essence of Caughey's writings into one too-brief volume which should serve as an introduction to the man and his work. Their 27-page introduction is an understanding delineation of Caughey's character and his career. The chronological bibliography of his many books and articles is invaluable, even to those who have known and admired Caughey for many years, and indispensable to new acquaintances among his readers. The editors have done a remarkable job of making a fairly unified work out of bits and pieces of Caughey's writing to direct the emphasis consistently toward interpretations. They have put together an excellent and unusual tribute to an outstanding member of their profession.

Because Caughey has been such a voluminous writer, the editors have been able to offer only a sampling of his various vintages rather than the full cask of the collected works. Readers with special interest in *The West*, *The Old Southwest*, *California*, *Western Justice*, or Caughey's *Creed* may regret that there is not enough. The bibliography is a well defined trail to the mother lode for them.

Presidential addresses of historians, the editors comment, combine the "overtone of a farewell pronouncement and a sermon upon the mount." Few are chosen for the ultimate accolade of esteem by their colleagues. John Caughey has twice been so honored and his two addresses on "California in Third Dimension," using California as an example of the problem of recreating living history, and "Our Chosen Destiny," the continuing American pursuit of liberty, focus on two of his deepest concerns, the highest national spirit and the combination of literature and more academic sources to define and portray the lively history of a region and its personalities. As Francis Parkman wrote, "to tell the story as it really happened" is the historian's goal. Caughey is an outstanding practitioner of the art and his editors have done the general reader as well as the scholar a great service by providing them with this volume which retrieves some of his many articles from possible oblivion by putting them between hard covers, and excerpts bits from other books, including the widely used *Land of the Free*.

Just as the title article "The American West: Frontier and Region" is both a description and an interpretation, so have the editors staunchly resisted fascinating diversions from his popular writings to keep the mainstream of his interpretive thought flowing. Yet there is inevitably much color in his writing on individuals from "McGillivray of the Creeks" to "Hubert Howe Bancroft." For their fine edition the editors are due the thanks of all those interested in "Western" history, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and of those with a concern for intellectual and academic freedom.

*How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks.* By H. Duane Hampton. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1971. 246 pp. illus. index. \$8.95.)

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*Reviewed by* JOHN D. McDERMOTT, *Acting Executive Secretary of the President's Advisory Council on Historic Preservation.*

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THE GREAT NATURALIST John Muir ably summarized the contribution of the United States Cavalry to the protection of our early National Parks when he wrote: "Blessings on Uncle Sam's soldiers. They have done the job well, and every pine tree is waving its arms for joy." H. Duane Hampton gives substance to the judgment in his fine study, *How the U. S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks*.

Hampton begins the volume by tracing the development of the National Park idea, concluding "one must speculate" that its origin may be found in the Act of Congress of 1864 which transferred Yosemite Valley to the State of California "for public use, resort and recreation." Hampton sees the idea fully realized in 1872 when Congress established Yellowstone National Park under the control of the Department of the Interior.

Hampton devotes the third and fourth chapters of the book to an analysis of the early administration of Yellowstone by Interior, finding it generally undistinguished and occasionally blundering, misguided, and corrupt. Generally, inadequacies resulted from ambiguities and omissions in the enabling legislation. Unfortunately the 1872 Act did not provide specific laws for governing the area or legal machinery to enforce rules promulgated by the Secretary of the Interior. Consequently, poaching, grazing, lumbering, and vandalism were major problems.

Beginning in 1875, various public and private figures suggested the United States Army provide protection, and in 1883 an amendment to the sundry civil bill authorized the Secretary of the Interior to request assistance from the Secretary of War when necessary. Necessity came in 1886, when Congress refused to appropriate funds to pay the salaries of park personnel. Military administration of Yellowstone began on August 20, 1886, and ended thirty-two years later. The War Department also provided the same protection to Sequoia, General Grant, and Yosemite National Parks, following their establishment in 1890.

Military administration resulted in the revision of rules and regulations and their enforcement, sometimes through extra-legal and often amusing means; the planning and construction of many of the present roads and trails; and the development of a number of basic management policies, such as fish stocking, live trapping, designated camping, and increased summer staffing. Also during this period, Congress finally enacted the punitive legislation needed to protect Yellowstone in perpetuity, and threats to the park from penetration by railroads dissipated and disappeared. Creation of proper legal machinery and increased military activity on the Mexican border and in Europe led to the withdrawal of troops from the parks, and in 1916 Congress provided for efficient civilian administration with the establishment of the National Park Service. Hampton tells the story with clarity and wit, citing a wide variety of published and manuscript sources and presenting his evidence in a thoroughly convincing and professional manner.

The author concludes the volume with a discussion of present National Park Service policies and practices, comparing them—sometimes unfavorably—with those developed in the late 19th century. The abrupt jump of a half-century to confront the present with the past may make some readers uncomfortable. Too, in the epilogue Hampton is not reticent in making judgments on how things ought to be done. While his judg-

ments are always interesting and often sound, he occasionally shows a lack of understanding of the present governmental planning and decision making process.

While it is not mentioned in this volume, the United States Army also played a vital role in the preservation of some of the great historical areas of the National Park System, such as Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park (1890), Shiloh National Military Park (1894), and Gettysburg National Military Park (1896), which remained under military control until 1933. A study of the early administration of these and other areas would permit a fuller understanding of the contribution of the United States Army to the preservation of our heritage. Hopefully, someone with the skills and talents of Mr. Hampton will undertake to supply the added dimension.

*The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California.* By Alexander Saxton. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971. x + 293 pp. \$8.50.)

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*Reviewed by* DAVID BRODY, *Professor of History, University of California at Davis, and author of* Labor in Crisis *and* Steelworkers in America.

FROM THE DISCOVERY of gold until World War I, the history of labor in California was bound up with anti-Chinese agitation. Although no study of California labor in the 19th century can avoid that fact, the relationship has not been fully and thoroughly explored. Now Alexander Saxton has met that need in his excellent *The Indispensable Enemy*. Why was California labor so persistent and so venomous in its hostility to the Chinese? And what effect did this animus have on the history of California labor and the state labor movement? (The effect on the Chinese is a separate question not dealt with here.) The answers to these questions, elaborated and set in the broader history of California labor, form the substance of Saxton's study.

His analysis has several interwoven strands. Saxton perceives, first of all, a genuine economic basis for the hostility to Chinese workers, and he carefully delineates the line of conflict. From the days of placer mining and railroad building, the Chinese were relegated to the work considered beneath the dignity of white labor, and they never did compete with the aristocracy of California labor, the craft workers in the local-market industries. But there was some competition in the service trades, and the Chinese were strongly entrenched not only in menial occupations, but also in those California industries, such as cigar-making and clothing, that competed in a national market and so benefited from cheap labor. The white workers crowding into California after the Civil War coveted some of these jobs or, as in the case of the cigar workers, found themselves in direct competition with Chinese labor. During the rainy winter months, especially during the hard times of the mid-1870's and mid-1880's, large numbers of jobless whites congregated in the cities, and to them Denis Kearney and other sandlot orators made the greatest appeal. For the unemployed and the low-skilled, spreading out to those in the service trades and national-market industries, Saxton argues, powerful economic grievances fueled the animus against the Chinese.

The second strand of the analysis involves the noneconomic motivation behind labor's anti-Orientalism. Here Saxton is on more tenuous ground. He argues that the political ideas that white workers carried with them to California, particularly the ideas associated with the Democratic Party, pre-disposed them to an attack on the Chinese. Saxton makes his case shrewdly, but the argument is broadly gauged and lacking in evidence connecting the generalities to the specifics of labor thinking in California. On the other hand, Saxton does show concretely how the countering ideas, those connected especially with abolitionism and socialism, were easily overwhelmed in

the flood tide of anticoolieism. Saxton is shrewd, too, in his notions about motivations deriving from frustrations specific to the California experience, among others, that it was the "end of the line" for fortune-seeking Americans. Saxton suggests, finally, the influence of California anti-Orientalism on the national trend of American labor in the 1890's and after to abandon the black man and to restrict the new immigration. The argument is plausible, but here, too, rather thinly supported. One wonders whether the venomous hatred against the Chinese did not in fact express a somewhat different variety of racism than that directed against the blacks (whose status in California actually advanced in this era) and recent immigrants. Saxton, however, does not explore or stress the roots of racism that might have been specific to the hatred of the Chinese.

If the noneconomic motives remain an open question, the consequences of anti-Orientalism for California labor seem clear. Above all, this meant a degree of political activism significantly beyond what labor experienced elsewhere in this era. Anti-coolieism gave political unity and direction to a labor force that would otherwise have been—as it was elsewhere—hopelessly fragmented and diffuse; this was translated, on the one hand, into a strong influence on the major parties and, on the other, into the creation of labor's own political institutions, beginning with the anticoolie clubs of the 1860's, then the formation of the Workingmen's Party in 1877, and ultimately Boss Ruef's Union Labor Party; and, finally, if anticoolieism made California labor politically potent, it served also to divert that power into a conservative mold and rendered it peculiarly susceptible to corrupt exploitation.

All this and more Saxton discusses in a book overflowing with ideas. Never in the face of puzzling events does he hesitate to venture a hypothesis. This is all to the good. But it also requires some caution on the part of the reader, who should be forewarned that where Saxton's argument is most arresting, it is also likely to be most hypothetical. Perhaps it should also be said that the book's title does not quite match what is between its covers: anti-Chinese sentiment was assuredly central to labor's experience in California, but hardly "indispensable" in any strict sense of the word.

*Mukat's People, the Cahuilla Indians of Southern California.* By Lowell John Bean. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972. 201 pp. \$6.75.)

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*Reviewed by* THOMAS R. HESTER, *Acting Assistant Professor of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.*

In this book, Lowell Bean has provided a rather detailed ethnographic study of the Cahuilla peoples of southern California. Many of the data result from Bean's field work among the Cahuilla from 1959 through 1961. Since Cahuilla culture has not been adequately studied or described in the past, a straightforward ethnographic presentation alone would have made this a valuable book. However, Bean adds greater depth to the study by posing a series of hypotheses and problems which are then examined in the light of the Cahuilla data. Paramount among these problems is the debate over whether or not religious beliefs (rituals) and world view (folk beliefs) can be considered adaptive or nonadaptive in the effective utilization of the ecosystem by a culture. Throughout the book, Bean emphasizes the systems approach in his ethnographic discussion, establishing the role of the Cahuilla population as a member of a viable ecosystem.

The Cahuilla lived in a "multicultural and multienvironmental milieu." Bean notes their location in the midst of trade routes, and their interaction with neighboring peoples (especially the Gabrilenos). The major food resource areas of the Cahuilla are outlined (the Lower Sonoran zone significant for hunting, the Upper Sonoran providing the most plant foods). The technology of Cahuilla hunting and gathering is also related. Bean wisely devotes the first part of his book to a discussion of the local environmental situation. A diverse flora was available to the Cahuilla. The oak was the most valuable food-producing tree, and its importance is reflected in the development of strict proprietary rights and rituals. Although there was "tension" among the Cahuilla resulting from immediate concerns over food resources, it is Bean's belief that the environment was capable of providing sufficient foodstuffs over the long run. One aspect of Cahuilla food-processing technology, the use of stone-lined pits for roasting yucca, should have left recognizable archaeological remains. Major food animals for the Cahuilla included mule deer, mountain sheep, pronghorn, rodents and rabbits. Again, the archaeologist should take note of the fact that the Cahuilla crushed the bones of rodents and rabbits and consumed them in soups and mushes. Thus, there should be little evidence in the local archaeological sites of the exploitation of these small mammals, and this might give the unsuspecting archaeologist a quite biased view of subsistence patterns. Another intriguing bit of information for the archaeologist is that stone points of "various sizes and shapes *depending on the kind of game sought*" (italics mine) were used by Cahuilla hunters.

Very useful information is given regarding Cahuilla settlement pattern. These peoples occupied a territory covering 2400 square miles, and this was divided into twelve distinct areas claimed by the various sibs. Villages within these sib areas were occupied the year-round, during which time groups or individuals left the village for subsistence-related tasks or for visiting and trading. Movement of the village was caused by temperature extremes or by natural disasters. Villages were located in ecologically favorable locales.

In order to better define the Cahuilla as a closely related group, Bean (p. 85) coins the term "cultural nationality," and under this rubric he includes "persons speaking the Cahuilla language and recognizing a commonly shared cultural heritage." Two moities were present, and had as their basic function the regulation of marriage and ritual reciprocity. The latter was deemed essential to the survival of mankind and the ecosystem.

The overriding theme both of Bean's book and of Cahuilla society is the relationship of man and his culture to the environment. For example, Bean outlines the ecological advantages of the Cahuilla lineages, including long-term control over food resource areas. The head of the Cahuilla (*net*) was little more than an "economic executive" and certain shamans (*puul*) were supposed to have power to "create" food and control the weather.

Bean presents a good argument in support of his view that ritual and world view are adaptive elements of Cahuilla society. In one case, the *nukil* rituals (associated with the dead) lead to the exchange of goods, marriages, games and trade. First-fruit rituals stressed the economic rights of the various lineages. The most important social unit of the Cahuilla was the "ritual congregation," involving an elaborate network of reciprocal exchanges. Rituals guaranteed the distribution of animal foods during the winter when plant foods were scarce, and hunting rituals helped maintain the natural balance of the ecosystem through the culling of game animals. Philosophically, the Cahuilla saw man as an integral element of nature—"one of a number of cooperating beings." Thus, man had definite reciprocal roles: deer could be killed, but not overkilled, and



the products provided by the deer could not be wasted. Reciprocity was clearly the overriding emphasis in Cahuilla society.

The Cahuilla recognized two creator beings. The elder of the two, *Mukat*, brought forth people who were perfect, while the younger creator, *Temayawet*, was careless when making his people. Given the values held by the Cahuilla and their philosophy regarding man's reciprocal relationship with his environment, we can easily guess the identity of their creator—and in examining the actions of our own society, there is little doubt who made us.

*Mukat's People* is a tightly-written and informative book, and was a great pleasure to read. Use of the book would have been facilitated through the addition of an index; this lack is compensated for to some extent by a detailed table of contents.

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ERRATA: In the summer issue, 1972, of the California Historical Quarterly, Page 161, line 20, *for* Dr. Frank Clements read: Dr. George P. Clements. Page 164, line 20 *for* Dr. Frank Clements' read: Dr. George P. Clements'.



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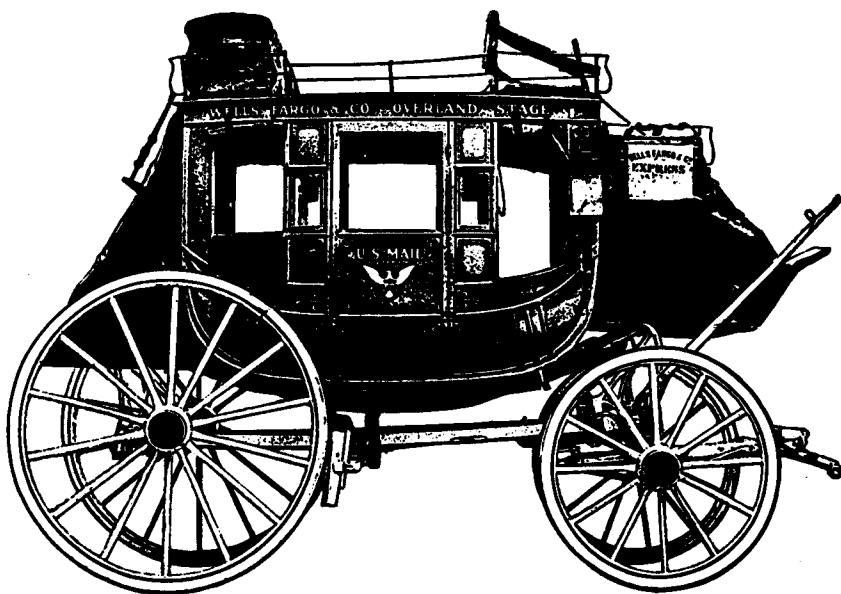
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